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1947

PALESTINE

File No. 951

pp. 6637 - 7243

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1947

PALESTINE

21 JUL 1947

Registry
Number

EB637/95/31

TELEGRAM FROM

Bagdad

No.

Dated

Received
in Registry

21 Sep

14 July

24

Iraqi Delegation to U.N. General Assembly

Nuri Pasha al Said will head

Iraqi delegation to United Nations General Assembly, which will discuss Palestine.

Last Paper.

EB543

References.

(Print.)

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(How disposed of.)

6) C.O.

28 July

(Action
completed.)

21/7

(Index.)

24/8/48

Next Paper.

E 6656

(Minutes.)

This is a good move from the

Arab point of view.

U.N. (P.O.) Rep.

Aug - 7.

H. Beeley 26/7

R. J. 26/7

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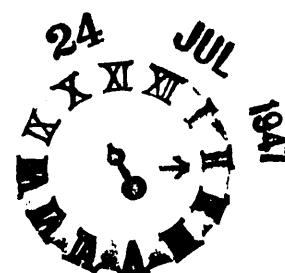
21 JUL 1947

14th July, 1947

R. 5.10 p.m. 22nd July, 1947

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Iraqi Prime Minister announced in Senate on 10th July
that Nuri Pasha al Said will head the Iraqi delegation
to the United Nations General Assembly which will
discuss the Palestine question.



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25 JUL 1947

PALESTINE

Registry
Number

E6656/951/31

FROM

Government
of Palestine

No.

Dated

Received
in Registry

25 July

Situation in Palestine

Supplementary memorandum by
the Government of Palestine, including
notes on evidence given to U.N.S.C.O.P.
up to 12th July.

Last Paper.

E6637

(Minutes.)

Now in Mr. Mathison's letter.

C.O. are waiting to us officially,
and we can await their letter.

N.J. 1/8

References.

(Print.)

(How disposed of.)

(Action
completed.)

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P.P. 1/8

R.B. 1/8

Next Paper.

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**Supplementary Memorandum by the Government
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to the United Nations Special Committee
on Palestine up to the 12th July, 1947**

Government Printer
Jerusalem

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25 JUL 1947

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GOVERNMENT OF PALESTINE

**Supplementary Memorandum by the Government
of Palestine including Notes on Evidence given
to the United Nations' Special Committee
on Palestine up to the 12th July, 1947**

**Government Printer
Jerusalem**

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JERUSALEM,
17th July, 1947.

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CHAPTER I

AN HISTORICAL SUMMARY OF THE PRINCIPAL POLITICAL EVENTS IN PALESTINE SINCE 1ST JANUARY, 1946

This chapter brings up-to-date and continues in diary form the summary contained in Chapter II of the Survey of Palestine.* Only the more important terrorist incidents are included. The references to statements of policy are condensed into summary form; the full texts are already available to the Committee.

4th January 1946

The Anglo-American Committee of Inquiry assembled in Washington and three days later its public sessions opened there.

5th January 1946

A communication setting out the views of His Majesty's Government on the subject of the continuance of immigration at a rate of 1,500 per month, pending the receipt of the report of the Anglo-American Committee of Inquiry, was conveyed by the High Commissioner to members of the Arab Higher Committee in Jerusalem and by His Majesty's representatives to the Arab States.

16th January 1946

King Ibn Saud and King Farouk, in a joint statement from Cairo, expressed support of the Palestinian Arabs in the following terms (as announced in the press) :—

"All efforts are being made by the Arab Kings, in support of the Palestine Arabs, to maintain the principles of justice. We associate ourselves with all Moslem Arabs in their belief that Palestine is an Arab country and it is the right of its people and the right of the Moslem Arabs everywhere to preserve it as an Arab land."

17th January 1946

The full independence of Trans-Jordan was announced by the Foreign Secretary in a speech to the United Nations.

Three new Jewish settlements were founded in the Galilee District.

* The request for these notes in diary form was made after the arrival of the Special Committee in Palestine. Owing to the shortness of the time available and also to the absence of certain official records which were destroyed when the Secretariat was blown up in July, 1946, it has not yet been possible to undertake a thorough check of exact dates, quotations and other details given; the record is, however, as correct as can be made from the documents immediately available. Further check is being proceeded with and any necessary corrections will be notified to the Committee as soon as possible.

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R.A.F. airfields at Lydda, Qastina and Petah Tiqva were attacked by Jewish terrorists, a number of aircraft being destroyed and damaged.

The Anglo-American Committee flew to Cairo, where they heard a statement by representatives of States of the Arab League.

The Anglo-American Committee arrived in Palestine.

The treaty between Great Britain and Trans-Jordan, establishing the latter country's independence, was signed in London.

The appointment of eleven additional members of the Arab Higher Committee, with Jamal Eff. Husseini as Chairman, was announced. At the same time Musa Eff. Al Alami resigned from the Committee.

An illegal immigrant ship carrying 240 passengers was arrested by the Royal Navy and taken into Haifa. Simultaneously there was widespread terrorist activity in and around Tel Aviv, comprising the blowing up of the town and the laying of landmines.

A ship carrying 733 Jewish illegal immigrants was brought into Haifa by the Royal Navy.

The Anglo-American Committee left Palestine and proceeded to Lausanne.

Attacks on the rail system by Jewish terrorists in different parts of Palestine caused extensive damage and casualties to the security forces. In the course of ensuing military operations a party of 30 armed Jews was encountered by a military unit south of Jaffa and its members captured.

Over a thousand Jews on board the vessel *Fede* at La Spezzia went on hunger strike and threatened to sink the vessel unless permitted to proceed to Palestine.

A country-wide strike of postal, telegraph and telephone employees began in support of a demand for improved conditions of service.

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12th April 1946

A number of leading members of the Jewish community in Palestine declared a hunger strike in support of the Jews on board *Fede* at La Spezzia.

14th April 1946

Jews throughout Palestine observed a general strike and fast in sympathy with the Jews at La Spezzia.

16th April 1946

The second division officers of the public service declared a strike in support of the demands of the employees of the Department of Posts and Telegraphs and also in support of their association's claims for increased pay to offset the rise in the cost of living and for a revision of the salary scales.

It was announced that His Majesty's Government had agreed to the allocation of immigration certificates to the Jews on board *Fede* at La Spezzia from the April-May and May-June quotas.

23rd April 1946

The strike of employees of the Posts and Telegraphs Department and of the second division of the civil service came to an end at midnight. The Government agreed to increases in supplementary allowances, the grant of two months' "back pay" representing delayed adjustments of emoluments to the rising cost of living and certain improvements in conditions of service of second division officers.

a number of firearms. One terrorist was shot dead and two were wounded and captured. An Arab temporary additional policeman was killed and two policemen, one British and one Arab, were wounded. A diversionary attack was carried out on Tel Aviv railway station.

25th April 1946

Seven British soldiers were murdered in a terrorist attack on a military car-park in Tel Aviv.

1st May 1946

The report of the Anglo-American Committee was published. It contained ten recommendations.

(1) Palestine alone cannot meet the emigration needs of the Jewish victims of Nazi and Fascist persecution. There was little hope of substantial assistance from other countries. The American and British Governments were recommended to endeavour to secure that immediate effect be given to the provisions of the United Nations Charter calling for "universal respect for, and observance of, human rights and fundamental freedoms for all without distinction as to race, sex, language, or religion."

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(4) Palestine should continue to be governed under the Mandate pending the execution of a trusteeship agreement.

(6) Pending the execution of a trusteeship document the Mandatory should administer the Mandate with regard to immigration so as, "while ensuring that the rights and position of other sections of the population are not prejudiced", to facilitate Jewish immigration under suitable conditions.

(8) The Committee was unable to assess the soundness of the various plans for large scale development submitted to it. It recommended that the examination and execution of such plans be conducted in full cooperation not only with the Jewish Agency, but also with the Governments of Arab States directly affected.

(10) If the report were adopted it should be made clear to Jews and Arabs that attempts to prevent its implementation by violence, terrorism or the use of illegal armies would be resolutely suppressed. The Jewish Agency should resume active cooperation with the Mandatory in the suppression of terrorism and illegal immigration and in the maintenance of law and order.

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30th May 1946

Following a meeting of Arab Kings and Presidents at Inshass a statement was issued by the Arab League that after discussing the Palestine question from every angle the Arab heads of States had concluded that it was not a matter concerning the Palestinian Arabs alone but all Arabs: Palestine was an Arab country and it was the duty of other Arab countries to see that its Arab status was maintained. It was impossible to agree to any immigration which they considered a violation of the White Paper, to which Britain was in honour bound. The Arab rulers expressed the hope that the existing cordial relations between the Arab countries and peoples and the two friendly democracies would not be disturbed by the latter's insistence on measures affecting the rights of Palestinian Arabs, since any disturbances would have a bad effect on universal peace.

6th June 1946

President Truman stated that it was his view and that of the United States Government that the immigration of 100,000 Jews to Palestine should be allowed as soon as possible, but that there were certain details and obstacles to be dealt with and overcome before this could be achieved.

10th June 1946

Damage estimated at over £P.100,000 was caused when Jewish terrorists held up and damaged three trains in the Lydda District.

11th June 1946

It was announced in Jerusalem that it was understood on good authority that the Mufti of Jerusalem, Haj Amin Al Husseini, had accepted the following:

Following a meeting of the political committee of the Arab League at Bludan a communique was issued stating that it had been decided to send memoranda to the Governments of Great Britain and the United States regarding the recommendations of the Anglo-American Committee and also a third memorandum concerning the Palestine question in its relation to Great Britain and the United States. Among decisions taken were the following; others were secret:—

- (a) the formation of a Palestine Committee representative of the Arab States;
- (b) the formation of an Arab Higher Committee;
- (c) a recommendation to the Arab States to enact legislation for the punishment of those selling land to the Jews;
- (d) the utilization of all methods to safeguard Palestine lands;
- (e) the reinforcement and extension of the boycott of Zionist goods.

The American Secretary of State stated that His Majesty's Government had submitted to the United States Government a six point questionnaire inquiring:—

- (i) what contribution would the United States make to quell any disorders in Palestine resulting from Jewish immigration;

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- (ii) how should individual displaced Jews in Europe be selected for immigration;
 - (iii) how could transport be obtained;
 - (iv) who would furnish the transport;
 - (v) how would the immigration be financed;
 - (vi) what method should be used to provide materials for the temporary housing of the new immigrants.

Mr Byrnes added that the questions would be considered by a cabinet committee.

15th June 1946

A Foreign Office communique issued in London announced that British representatives had been nominated to confer with American representatives on matters arising out of the report of the Anglo-American Committee.

17th June 1946

Widespread terrorist attacks on the night of the 16th-17th June resulted in the damage or destruction of eight road and rail bridges and in extensive damage to the workshops of the Palestine Railways at Haifa. Numerous casualties (some fatal) were sustained by the attackers and by the security forces, and a number of terrorists were arrested.

18th June 1946

Six British officers were abducted by armed Jews, five in Tel Aviv and one in Jerusalem.

20th June 1946

States members of the Arab League addressed communications to His Majesty's Government deploring the situation in Palestine and underlining the necessity of giving satisfaction to the national aspirations of the indigenous inhabitants. As directly interested parties the States invited His Majesty's Government to negotiate an arrangement putting an end to the existing situation in Palestine and setting up a new regime conforming to the spirit and intentions of the Charter of the United Nations.

A communique issued in Cairo announced that Haj Amin al Husseini had arrived at the Royal Palace on the previous day and was a guest of King Farouk.

Two Jews were killed and others wounded when troops participating in a search of Kfar Giladi and Tel Hai settlements in the Galilee District opened fire on a party which attempted to break the cordon.

The British officer abducted in Jerusalem on the 18th June escaped from his captors.

21st June 1946

Following the extraordinary meeting of the Arab League at Bludan, the Government of Palestine was notified of the reconstitution of the Arab Higher Committee with the following membership :—

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22nd June 1946

26th June 1946

29th June 1946

2nd July 1946

President Truman stated that the United States Government was prepared to assume technical and financial responsibility for the transport of 100,000 Jewish immigrants to Palestine. The President also expressed the hope that the leaders of the Jewish community held in custody would be soon released and that the situation in Palestine would soon return to normal.

4th July 1946

4th July 1946

The remaining three British officers kidnapped in Tel Aviv on the 18th June were released.

11th July 1946

11th July 1946

It was officially announced that the military operations which commenced on the 29th June had ceased.

17th July 1946

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22nd July 1946

Eighty-three public servants and five members of the public were killed when a wing of the King David Hotel in Jerusalem, housing the Secretariat and part of military head-quarters, was blown up by Jewish terrorists. The Jewish Agency and Vaad Leumi Executives issued statements expressing their horror at "the dastardly crime perpetrated by a group of desperadoes". They called on the Yishuv "to rise up against these abominable outrages."

24th July 1946

A White Paper on terrorism in Palestine was made public in London by His Majesty's Government. Its main conclusions were;

(i) the Hagana and its associated force, Palmach, working under the political control of prominent members of the Jewish Agency, had been engaged in the carefully planned use of violence and sabotage under the name of the Jewish Resistance Movement;

(ii) the National Military Organisation and the Stern Group had during the preceding eight or nine months been cooperating with the Hagana in certain of these operations;

(iii) the illegal radio transmitter calling itself the Voice of Israel, which was working under the general direction of the Jewish Agency, had been supporting the terrorist groups.

His Majesty's Government addressed to the Arab States a note in the following terms :—

"His Majesty's Government drew attention in the note which they communicated to state members of the Arab League on 20th May to their previous undertaking that they would consult all parties concerned before they reached a decision on the recommendations of the Anglo-American Committee of Inquiry regarding the problems of European Jewry in Palestine. In accordance with this undertaking they readily accept the proposal made by" (the Government addressed) "to enter into negotiations on the subject of Palestine". The note went on to express the hope that the resultant consultations should be completed before the September session of the United Nations.

In a subsequent communique it was stated that His Majesty's Government intended to issue invitations to the Palestine Arabs and Jews.

The Jewish Agency issued a statement denying that any of the intercepted telegrams quoted in the White Paper on terrorism published on the 24th July had emanated from the Jewish Agency in Jerusalem. It challenged His Majesty's Government to prove that the Jewish Agency was responsible for their composition, authorisation and despatch.

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26th July 1946

The American Secretary of State announced at a press conference that a plan for the division of Palestine had been proposed by the American representatives at the technical talks on means of implementing the recommendations of the Anglo-American Committee. He added that it had the unanimous support of both the American and British delegates and that it had been approved by the British cabinet. Mr Byrnes said that he would be discussing it with President Truman immediately.

29th July 1946

An illegal immigrant ship carrying 2,760 Jews was brought into Haifa by the Royal Navy.

30th July 1946

Police and military operations, directed to the arrest of members of the terrorist organisations responsible for the outrage of the 22nd July, were commenced in Tel Aviv; the town was closely cordoned and intensive searches were carried out.

31st July 1946

Opening a debate in the House of Commons the Lord President of the Council outlined a federal scheme for Palestine, unanimously recommended by the British and American expert delegations examining the recommendations of the Anglo-American Committee. The country would be divided into an Arab province and a Jewish province each having a large measure of administrative autonomy, a district of Jerusalem and a district of the Negeb to be administered by the Central Government. While the final control over immigration would continue to rest with the Central Government, it would be exercised on the basis of recommendations by the provincial government. No immigration capacity of the province concerned was not exceeded the Central Government would authorise the immigration desired by the provincial government. The Land Transfers Regulations would be rescinded but it would be open to the government of the Arab province to permit or refuse permission to Jews to buy land there. The expert committee of British and American representatives had prepared a plan for the movement of 100,000 Jews from Europe to the Jewish area of Palestine and this plan could be set in motion as soon as it was decided to put into effect the scheme as a whole. Mr Morrison stated that His Majesty's Government were willing to accept the scheme as a basis for negotiation, and intimated that the agreement of the United States Government had not yet been obtained.

The Lord President dissociated the Government from the terms of a letter addressed by the General Officer Commanding in Palestine to troops under his command, following the outrage of the 22nd July, forbidding social relationships with Jews and directing that association with members of the Jewish community should be confined to matters of duty.

An illegal immigrant ship carrying 497 Jewish passengers was intercepted and brought into Haifa.

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22nd August 1946

The transport *Empire Rival*, used for the deportation of Jewish illegal immigrants to Cyprus, was sabotaged while lying in Haifa port.

24th August 1946

A statement made at the conclusion of the meeting of the Jewish Agency Executive held in Paris said that the Agency would not take part in any discussion based on the "Morrison Scheme" for Palestine.

26th August 1946

The Foreign Office announced that the Jewish Agency had been invited to represent Palestine Jews at the forthcoming conference on Palestine to be held in London.

29th August 1946

The security forces began the search of two Jewish settlements in the south of Palestine, Ruhama and Dorot. Illegal arms were found at both places.

The death sentences passed by a military court on 18 Jews on the 15th August were commuted by the General Officer Commanding.

A Jew was sentenced to death by a military court for offences against the Defence (Emergency) Regulations arising out of the attack on the railway workshops at Haifa on the 17th June. The sentence was later commuted by the General Officer Commanding.

31st August 1946

The rejection by the Arab Higher Committee of the British Government's invitation to attend the London Conference on Palestine was announced. Subsequently, refusals of invitations addressed individually to certain leading Palestine Arabs were also received.

3rd September 1946

An illegal immigrant ship carrying 997 Jews was brought into Haifa.

6th September 1946

Correspondence between the Colonial Secretary and Dr Weizman relative to the participation of the Jewish Agency in the London Conference was published in London. Dr Weizman stated that it had been decided that the Agency would not participate in any discussions based on the "Morrison Scheme". The satisfaction of the following conditions was moreover declared to be a prerequisite to attendance :—

(i) the Jewish Agency must have full freedom to designate its own delegates, including any detained or subject to detention; and

(ii) the Jewish Agency should invite, in consultation with His Majesty's Government, all members of the Jewish delegation to the conference, it being understood that it will include representatives of other important bodies and organisations.

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9th September 1946

At a meeting of the Vaad Leumi attended by Jewish mayors and presidents of Jewish local councils and community councils two resolutions were passed "as a first step in its struggle against the campaign of repression undertaken by the Government against the Yishuv" :—

(i) all Jewish members representing the Yishuv in Government committees would discontinue their participation in the work of these committees;

(ii) the Vaad Leumi, Jewish municipalities, local councils and community councils undertook to allocate immediately a total of £P.100,000 for Jewish immigration to Palestine "without regard for the restrictions of the 1939 White Paper which has no legal validity."

There were several terrorist attacks on the railway system in different parts of Palestine.

The Area Security Officer for the Jaffa-Tel Aviv area was killed and his wife and another British army officer were injured when the house containing his office and dwelling was blown up in Tel Aviv. A C.I.D. sergeant was shot and fatally wounded in Haifa. Other British military personnel were killed and injured in terrorist outrages in different parts of Palestine.

The conference on Palestine opened in London. Representatives of the Arab States and the Secretary-General of the Arab League participated, but neither the Jews nor the Palestine Arabs were represented.

Armed Jewish terrorists raided two banks in Tel Aviv and Jaffa, and a diversionary attack was made on the Central Police Station at Jaffa. An Arab policeman and an Arab civilian were shot dead, and the British manager of the Jaffa bank was shot and wounded. Four armed terrorists were captured, and seven further Jews, believed to be terrorists were also apprehended.

19th September 1946

The Arab States delegations to the London Conference submitted their proposals for the solution of the Palestine problem. The main features were the following :—

(a) Palestine would be a unitary State with a permanent Arab majority, and would attain its independence as such after a short period of transition (two or three years) under British mandate.

(b) Within this unitary State Jews who had acquired Palestinian citizenship (for which the qualification would be ten years' residence in the country) would have full civil rights, equally with all other citizens of Palestine.

(c) Special safeguards would be provided to protect the religious and cultural rights of the Jewish Community.

(d) The sanctity of the Holy Places would be guaranteed and safeguards provided for freedom of religious practice throughout Palestine.

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(e) The Jewish Community would be entitled to a number of seats in the Legislative Assembly proportionate to the number of Jewish citizens (as defined) in Palestine, subject to the proviso that in no case would the number of Jewish representatives exceed one-third of the total number of members.

(f) All legislation concerning immigration and the transfer of land would require the consent of the Arabs in Palestine as expressed by a majority of the Arab members of the Legislative Assembly.

(g) The guarantees concerning the Holy Places would be alterable only with the consent of the United Nations, and the safeguards provided for the Jewish Community would be alterable only with the consent of a majority of the Jewish members of the Legislative Assembly.

The Arab plan envisaged the nomination by the High Commissioner of a Provisional Government consisting of seven Arabs and three Jews. This Government would arrange for the election of a constituent assembly charged with drawing up, within six months, a detailed constitution consistent with the general principles prescribed in the Arab proposals. Should the constituent assembly fail to complete its work in six months the Provisional Government would promulgate a constitution. When the constitution had been adopted a Legislative Assembly would be elected and the first head of the independent State would be appointed. A treaty would be concluded defining the future relations of His Majesty's Government and the Government of Palestine.

22nd September 1946

A ship carrying 605 illegal Jewish immigrants was brought into Haifa.

1st October 1946

Informal talks aimed at lessening the tension in Palestine were begun in London between the Foreign and Colonial Offices on the one hand and Jewish Agency leaders on the other.

2nd October 1946

It was announced in London that the Conference on Palestine stood adjourned until the 16th December.

4th October 1946

In a statement issued in Washington President Truman, expressing deep regret at the adjournment of the London Conference, said "I believe and urge that substantial immigration into Palestine cannot await a solution to the Palestine problem, and that it should begin at once. Preparations for this movement have already been made by this (the United States) Government and it is ready to lend its immediate assistance."

6th October 1946

Eleven new settlements were set up on Jewish land in southern Palestine.

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Mr Dewey, Governor of New York State, expressed the view that "not 100,000 but several hundred thousand Jews" should be allowed to enter into Palestine.

19th October 1946

An official statement released in London said that discussions with Dr Weizman and members of the Jewish Agency Executive regarding "steps that might be taken to lessen the existing tension in Palestine" had been completed.

21st October 1946

A ship carrying 916 Jewish illegal immigrants was intercepted by the Royal Navy and brought into Haifa.

24th October 1946

Dr Nahum Goldman of the Jewish Agency Executive said at a press conference in New York that Zionists would afford Great Britain full rights for military, naval and air bases in Palestine in return for an agreement establishing a viable Jewish State comprising the area of the Jewish State as recommended by the Royal Commission plus the Negeb.

28th October 1946

Elections to the World Zionist Congress were held in Palestine and the Diaspora. In all 2,158,920 votes were cast, of which 300,754 were cast in Palestine. The resultant party distribution of seats in the Congress was as follows :—

General Zionists	123
Ihud Olami—Poalei Zion (Mapai)	101
Mizrahi (including Hapoel Hamizrahi)	58
United Zionists Revisionists	41
Hashomer Hatzair	26
Acdut Avoda—Poalei Zion	26
Aliyah Hadasha	5
Independents	5.

In Palestine the party distribution of seats was as follows :—

Mapai	28
Revisionists	11
Acdut Avoda	10
Hashomer Hatzair	10
Hapoel Hamizrahi	8
Aliyah Hadasha	5
General Zionists	3
Mizrahi	2
Yemenite Union	1
General Zionist Workers	1.

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29th October 1946

Resolutions of the Inner Zionist Council, which had been in session in Jerusalem, reaffirmed that the only solution of the twin problems of the Jewish peoples and of Palestine lay in the establishment of a Jewish State. The Council denounced "bloodshed by groups of terrorists who defy national discipline and thereby place themselves outside the ranks of the Jewish Community," and called on the Yishuv to isolate the terrorists and deny them all encouragement, support and assistance.

30th October 1946

In terrorist outrages on the 29th and 30th October two British soldiers and a police sergeant were killed and twelve soldiers and an Arab civilian were injured. Jerusalem railway station was severely damaged by explosives.

31st October 1946

A ship carrying 1,279 Jewish illegal immigrants was brought into Haifa.

4th November 1946

An official communiqué issued in Jerusalem announced that the Government had been informed by the Vaad Leumi that the immigration fund (whose creation was announced on the 9th September, 1946) was neither administered by the Vaad Leumi or the Jewish local authorities nor disbursed through their medium. Payment of the grants-in-aid which had been suspended pending clarification of this matter was therefore now being resumed.

5th November 1946

Eight Jewish leaders, including Mr. Greenbaum, Mr. Remez and Mr. Hachohen, who had been detained under emergency powers on grounds of complicity in terrorism on the 29th June, were released. The following statement was made by the Secretary of State for the Colonies: "In view of the condemnation of terrorism embodied in the resolutions announced at the meeting on October 29th of the Inner Zionist Council, which is accepted as an earnest of the intention of the Jewish Agency and of representative Jewish institutions in Palestine to dissociate themselves entirely from the campaign of violence and to do their utmost to root out this evil, His Majesty's Government have concurred in the release by the Palestine Government of the detained Jewish leaders".

It was also announced that "His Majesty's Government have now fully considered the representations made to them by the Arab delegates to the Palestine Conference on the subject of the Palestinian Arabs detained in the Seychelles and as a gesture of goodwill at this time, when important decisions on the future of Palestine are in the balance, they have decided to release these detainees and to permit them to return to Palestine along with two other Arabs formerly detained in the Seychelles but already released on health grounds. In addition, an amnesty is being granted by the Palestine Government to certain other Arabs".

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9th November 1946

Four British members of the Palestine Police Force were killed by an explosion of a booby-trap mine in a house which they were searching for hidden arms in Jerusalem.

10th November 1946

The railway station at Ras el Ain was destroyed in a terrorist attack which resulted in injuries to an Arab supernumerary policeman and to three British soldiers.

12th November 1946

It was announced that 300 certificates from the immigration quota for the period the 15th November—14th December would be allocated to Jewish illegal immigrants detained in Cyprus and that 750 certificates from the quota for the period the 15th December—14th January would be similarly allocated.

13th November 1946

Six members of the Palestine Police Force were killed and ten were injured in bomb outrages when a railway trolley was mined and derailed on the Lydda-Jerusalem line and a police vehicle was blown up by a land mine in Jerusalem. The foreman of a train blown upon on the Jaffa-Lydda line was also fatally injured.

17th November 1946

Three British policemen and a Royal Air Force Sergeant were killed and 6 other members of the security forces were injured when a police vehicle was mined near Tel Aviv.

18th November 1946

Following terrorist attacks on the railway system train services throughout Palestine were temporarily suspended.

20th November 1946

The Income Tax Office in Jerusalem was badly damaged by the detonation of explosive substances deposited by terrorists. One Jewish temporary additional constable was fatally injured.

26th November 1946

A ship carrying 3,914 illegal Jewish immigrants was brought into Haifa by the Royal Navy. The transshipment of those aboard to the transports, used for the transfer of illegal immigrants deported to Cyprus, was fiercely resisted, the military escort being violently assailed with missiles. The security forces were compelled to open fire in defence of the escort, two illegal immigrants being fatally wounded. The Supreme Court issued an order nisi addressed to the Chief Secretary and six other respondents on an application for a writ of *habeas corpus* for 1,941 persons mentioned by name and other persons, to a total of 3,350, believed to be on board the vessel. The order was subsequently discharged and the illegal immigrants were deported to Cyprus in accordance with the normal procedure.

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29th November 1946

It was officially announced in Jerusalem that 750 illegal immigrants held in detention in Cyprus who were due for release against the immigration quota for the period the 15th December—15th January would be forthwith transferred to Palestine and placed in a camp made available by the Jewish Agency. A further 1,000 would be brought to Palestine and held in detention pending release against subsequent quotas. On the allocation of certificates on the 15th December to 750 immigrants a further 750 immigrants would be brought from Cyprus.

2nd December 1946

Four soldiers were killed when a military vehicle in which they were travelling was blown up by a land mine.

4th December 1946

The Acting Executives of the Vaad Leumi and of the Jewish Agency issued a joint appeal for the cessation of terrorist outrages.

7th December 1946

The postponement of the resumption of the London Conference until a date in January was announced. The American Secretary of State appealed to Arab and Jewish leaders to attend the Conference and stated that in this event the United States would send an observer.

8th December 1946

News was received that a ship carrying some 800 Jews intending to immigrate illegally to Palestine had been wrecked on the island of Serina. Arrangements were made by the Government to despatch medical and other aid, both by sea or through the medium of the Royal Air Force, and the survivors were subsequently transferred to Cyprus by the Royal Navy. The survivors were subsequently transferred to Palestine.

9th December 1946

The World Zionist Congress opened at Basle.

10th December 1946

The report of Sir William FitzGerald on the municipal administration of Jerusalem was published.

24th December 1946

The World Zionist Congress ended at Basle without the election of a new Zionist Executive, which was referred to the General Zionist Congress. It was decided by a majority of 171 votes to 154 that the Zionist Movement would not participate in the London Conference "in existing circumstances", but that, if any change should take place in the situation, the General Zionist Council should consider the matter and decide whether to participate or not. Dr Weizman was not re-elected to the presidency of the Movement. The Congress rejected the "Morrison Scheme" as "a travesty of Britain's obligation", recorded opposition to any new trusteeship for Palestine, under which the establishment of a Jewish State might

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be prevented or postponed, and declared that a Jewish State was the only form in which the original purpose of the Mandate could be fulfilled if the Mandate ended. The Congress reaffirmed the political programme of the Zionist Movement in the following terms :—

(i) that Palestine be established as a Jewish Commonwealth integrated in the structure of the democratic world;

(ii) that the gates of Palestine be opened to Jewish immigration; and

(iii) that the Jewish Agency be vested with control of immigration into Palestine and with the necessary authority for the upbuilding of the country.

29th December 1946

A new Zionist Executive was established by election of the General Zionist Council. It comprised representatives of the General Zionists (8), the Palestine Labour Party (7) and the Mizrahi (4).

A British army major and three British non-commissioned officers were abducted by Jewish terrorists in Tel Aviv, Nathanya and Rishon-le-Zion and flogged as a reprisal for the execution of a sentence of 18 strokes imposed by a military court on a Jewish terrorist for an offence against the Defence (Emergency) Regulations.

Four Jewish terrorists were captured in possession of arms when the car in which they were travelling attempted to rush a military road-block.

1st January 1947

A Jew, Dov Ben-Gurion, was sentenced to death by a military court on charges arising out of the terrorist attack on the Ramat Gan police station in April, 1946.

2nd January 1947

Concerted attacks were made by Jewish terrorists on military and police installations and personnel in Tel Aviv, Jerusalem, Haifa, Kiryat Haim, Tiberias and Hadera. Among casualties to members of the security forces and the public one British officer was killed and five soldiers were injured when a carrier was blown up near the Haifa Bay suburb of Kiryat Haim.

10th January 1947

The Government of Palestine was informed of the appointment of the following additional members of the Arab Higher Committee :—

Sheikh Ragheb Eff. Abu Seoud

Izzat Eff. Darwazeh

Ishaq Eff. Darwish al Husseini

Muin Eff. Al Madi

Rafiq Eff. Tamimi.

12th January 1947

A vehicle loaded with explosives was driven into the security zone at Haifa and there exploded, causing extensive damage to the building containing the head-

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The Arab Higher Committee accepted His Majesty's Government's invitation to participate in the London Conference on its resumption.

An anti-terrorist resolution was taken by a plenary session of the Vaad Leumi, which declared that "the Yishuv would defend itself with the necessary force against domination and coercion, intimidation and threats, the extortion of money and use of force against teachers and pupils, policemen, drivers and others".

The London Conference on Palestine resumed its sessions. The Jewish Agency was not represented, and no American observer was present. Representatives of the Arab Higher Committee, however, participated.

27th January 1947

It was officially announced that the High Commissioner had warned a Jewish delegation that, unless Mr. Combs and Judge [redacted] within a stated period, steps would be taken to withdraw civil administration and facilities from certain areas, which would be placed under military control.

Judge Windham was released by his abductors and returned to Tel Aviv unhurt.

A series of talks between the Foreign and Colonial Offices and representatives of the Jewish Agency opened in London.

1st February 1947

It was announced that non-essential British civilians would shortly be evacuated from Palestine. The evacuation began three days later.

The text of a letter addressed by the Government of Palestine to the Jewish Agency and the Vaad Leumi on the 3rd February, inquiring whether they were "prepared within seven days to call upon the Jewish community to lend their aid

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to the Government by cooperating with the Police and the Armed Forces in locating and bringing to justice the members of the terrorist groups", was published in Jerusalem.

7th February 1947

The British delegation at the London Conference submitted new proposals (the "Bevin Scheme"), which were also communicated to the Jewish Agency. These provided for a five years period of British trusteeship over Palestine with the declared object of preparing the country for independence. The proposed terms of trusteeship would include provision for a substantial measure of local autonomy in areas delimited so as to include a substantial Arab or Jewish majority. The High Commissioner would retain responsibility for protecting minorities in these areas. At the centre the High Commissioner would endeavour to form a representative Advisory Council. At the end of four years a constituent assembly would be elected. If agreement was reached between a majority of the Arab representatives and a majority of the Jewish representatives in this assembly, an independent State would be established without delay. In the event of disagreement the Trusteeship Council of the United Nations would be asked to advise upon future procedure. The trusteeship agreement would also provide for the admission of 96,000 Jewish immigrants during the first two years of its operation. Thereafter the rate would be determined, with due regard to the principle of economic absorptive capacity, by the High Commissioner in consultation with his Advisory Council. In the event of disagreement the final decision would rest with an arbitration tribunal appointed by the United Nations.

9th February 1947

The Arab delegations to the London Conference stated that the British Government's proposals of the 7th February were unsuitable as a basis for discussion.

An illegal immigrant ship carrying 664 Jews was brought into Haifa by the Royal Navy. The naval boarding party encountered strong opposition and was compelled to open fire. One illegal immigrant subsequently died from injuries received.

The Vaad Leumi and Jewish Agency's replies to the Government's letter of the 3rd February were published. The former stated that "it found itself unable . . . to call on the Yishuv, engaged as it is in its struggle for its rights and freedoms, to accede to" the Government's request. The Jewish Agency Executive expressed the view that any appeal on the lines suggested would not only be ineffective but would be likely to cause harm rather than good. It reiterated, however, that the Yishuv would resist terrorist activities with the means at its disposal.

Three Jewish terrorists were sentenced to death by a military court for offences against the Defence (Emergency) Regulations committed on the 29th December. These sentences were confirmed by the General Officer Commanding.

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10th February 1947

The Jewish Agency representatives at the conversations with the Foreign and Colonial Offices categorically rejected the new proposals of His Majesty's Government (the "Bevin Scheme").

13th February 1947

At the fifth meeting between representatives of His Majesty's Government and the Jewish Agency representatives the latter stated that they had at various times submitted three alternative proposals:

- (a) that the whole of Western Palestine should be made into a Jewish State;
- (b) that, if this was impossible, Great Britain should resume administration of the Mandate as it had been administered in 1937;
- (c) that, if Great Britain decided that even this was impossible, the Jews were willing to discuss the establishment of a viable Jewish State in an adequate area of Palestine.

17th February 1947

A ship carrying 813 Jewish illegal immigrants was brought into Haifa by the Royal Navy.

18th February 1947

The Foreign Secretary announced in the House of Commons that His Majesty's Government was unable to accept the proposals for the solution of the Palestine problem put forward either by the Jews or the Arabs, and was also unable to impose a solution of its own. It had therefore decided to submit the problem to the judgement of the United Nations. It had proved to be unworkable in practice, and that the obligations undertaken to the two communities had been shown to be irreconcilable. It did not intend to recommend any particular solution.

28th February 1947

In a series of terrorist outrages over the weekend, which included the demolition of the premises containing an officers' club in Jerusalem, 20 persons—military, police and civilian—lost their lives.

1st March 1947

An illegal immigrant ship carrying 1,416 Jews ran ashore near Haifa. Those aboard were subsequently deported to Cyprus (in accordance with the policy announced on the 12th August, 1946) as in the case of illegal immigrants on board vessels arrested at sea by the Royal Navy.

2nd March 1947

"Statutory martial law" was imposed on an area of the Lydda district comprising Tel Aviv (with the Jewish quarters of Jaffa), Ramat Gan, Benei Beraq

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and Petah Tiqva, and on an area of Jerusalem inhabited predominantly by Jews. These areas were placed under military control and most of the normal functions of the civil Government within them were suspended.

8th March 1947

A ship carrying 601 Jewish illegal immigrants was brought into Haifa by the Royal Navy.

12th March 1947

A British soldier was killed and eight others were wounded, three seriously, in a terrorist attack on the Pay Corps Headquarters in Jerusalem.

An illegal immigrant ship carrying some 800 Jewish passengers ran ashore on the Palestine coast. It was established that some 375 of these had escaped arrest, and an equivalent deduction was made from a subsequent allocation of immigration certificates to illegal immigrants detained in Cyprus. Those who were apprehended were deported to Cyprus. Over 300 who mingled with the illegal immigrants and decline to identify themselves as residents of Palestine were taken to Cyprus along with those illegal immigrants who were apprehended; they were subsequently returned to Palestine.

17th March 1947

"Statutory martial law" was lifted from the areas to which it had been applied on 2nd March.

17th March 1947

A Jewish terrorist was sentenced to death by a military court for carrying a hand grenade in the vicinity of the "statutory martial law" area in Jerusalem. The sentence was subsequently confirmed by the General Officer Commanding.

31st March 1947

Damage estimated at LP.300,000 was caused by terrorist sabotage to the oil refineries at Haifa.

An illegal immigrant ship carrying some 1,577 Jewish passengers was towed into Haifa by the Royal Navy after a breakdown at sea.

3rd April 1947

Two Jewish terrorists were sentenced to death by a military court for offences against the Defence (Emergency) Regulations arising out of the attack on the Jerusalem railway station on 30th October, 1946.

15th April 1946

The Royal Navy intercepted and brought into Haifa a vessel carrying 2,623 Jewish illegal immigrants. The naval boarding party was forced to use firearms when fiercely attacked. Three illegal immigrants lost their lives as a result of injuries sustained and eighteen others were admitted to hospital. The boarding party suffered casualties, none fatal.

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16th April 1947

Dov Bela Gruner, who was sentenced to death by a military court on the 1st January, and three other capitally convicted Jewish terrorists, were executed in Acre Prison.

21st April 1947

The two Jewish terrorists lying under sentence of death passed by a military court committed suicide in Jerusalem Central Prison.

22nd April 1947

Eight persons were killed when a Cairo—Haifa train was derailed by sabotage near Rehovoth.

23rd April 1947

A ship carrying 761 Jewish illegal immigrants was brought into Haifa by the Royal Navy.

26th April 1947

A British police officer was murdered in Haifa by Jewish terrorists and five members of the security forces were killed when a truck with concealed explosives, which had been driven into the security compound at Saron, blew up.

28th April 1947

The special session of the General Assembly of the United Nations on the Palestine question opened at Flushing Meadows, New York.

4th May 1947

and subsequent clashes between the security forces and the attackers, a prison attack by Jewish terrorists on the Central Prison at Acre, civilians, escaped prisoners and terrorists—were killed. 251 prisoners escaped. 17 Jewish terrorists and suspected terrorists were captured.

12th May 1947

Two British policemen were shot and killed in a Jerusalem street.

15th May 1947

The special session of the General Assembly concluded with the appointment of a Special Committee of representatives of eleven States-members with the following principal terms of reference :—

(i) The Special Committee shall have the widest powers to ascertain and record facts, and to investigate all questions and issues relevant to the problem of Palestine.

(ii) The Committee shall conduct investigations in Palestine and wherever it may deem useful, receive and examine written or oral testimony, whichever it may consider appropriate in each case, from the mandatory Power, from representatives of the population of Palestine, from Governments and from such organizations and individuals as it may deem necessary.

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(iii) The Committee shall give most careful consideration to the religious interests in Palestine of Islam, Judaism and Christianity.

(iv) The Committee shall prepare a report to the General Assembly and shall submit such proposals as it may consider appropriate for the solution of the problem of Palestine.

(v) The Committee's report shall be communicated to the General Secretary not later than the 1st September, 1947.

15th May 1947

Two British officers were killed and two other British members of His Majesty's Forces were injured while dismantling a mine on the railway. Two trains were damaged by the explosion of mines.

17th May 1947

An illegal immigrant ship with 1,420 passengers was brought into Haifa.

21st May 1947

A band of armed Jews attacked a café in the Arab village of Fajja near Petah Tiqva, shooting one Arab dead, wounding seven others and placing explosive charges in the premises. A second band attacked an Arab encampment in the same locality and shot one Arab dead. A communication to the Hebrew press, by the Hagana, stated that these attacks were "an action against murderers", a number of Arab armed brigands having been seen concentrating in the two places attacked.

23rd May 1947

His Majesty's Government addressed to the Secretary-General of the United Nations a letter requesting him to appeal to all member States to take the strictest precautions to prevent the transit through their territory and the departure from their ports of Jews attempting to enter Palestine illegally. This letter was forwarded by the Secretary-General to members of the United Nations on the 29th May.

24th May 1947

An illegal immigrant ship carrying 1,459 Jewish passengers was brought into Haifa.

26th May 1947

The United Nations Special Committee on Palestine held its first meeting in New York.

27th May 1947

Ramle railway station was severely damaged by sabotage. Two trains were blown up by mines.

31st May 1947

The Royal Navy escorted into Haifa an illegal immigrant ship carrying 399 Jewish passengers.

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5th June 1947

9th June 1947

10th June 1947

The Jewish Agency protested against the circulation to members of the United Nations of His Majesty's Government's letter to the Secretary-General dated the 23rd May regarding the prevention of Jewish illegal immigration into Palestine. Copies of the protest were transmitted by the Secretary-General to the chairman of the United Nations Special Committee on Palestine.

14th June 1947

Members of the United Nations Special Committee on Palestine began to arrive in Palestine.

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(The references are to the records made by the Committee).

1. "In only 5 per cent of Palestine were the Jews free to buy land". (Page 2).

The areas of the Zones prescribed by the Land Transfers Regulations, 1940. are :—

The areas owned by Jews in the three zones are approximately equal. (See Survey, Vol. I, p. 243). The Jews hold over 15 per cent of the cultivable area of Palestine, mostly on the plains, where the best land lies.

2. "Arab tenants, when they had to be removed, were in every case re-settled elsewhere". (Page 3).

B. Mr D. Ben Gurion (Sixteenth meeting, 4th July).

3. The general theme of Mr Ben Gurion's statements is an attack on Britain and a charge of failing to fulfil international pledges. He says (on page 61 of his evidence) that the Administration in Palestine and London were biased against the Mandate from the beginning and did everything they could to obstruct it. The fact that the National Home could never have been established without the direct assistance and support that Britain has given to it, with the expenditure of

[illegible]

British resources and British lives, apparently requires to be restated, in those simple terms. The denial of this fact, the concealment of the truth and the failure to recognise that there was ever any reason for not granting the most extreme Jewish demands in the face of bitter opposition from the inhabitants of the country must appear to all impartial observers as at least a gross self-deception.

In fact, the part played by the Administration in establishing the National Home was essential and considerable. Had it not been for the defence of Palestine undertaken by the Mandatory during the 1939-45 war, the National Home would have disappeared. That defence, with the responsibilities of feeding and supplying the people of Palestine, was for a long period undertaken by the British Commonwealth alone.

It has been suggested that certain laws enacted by the Palestine Government have no legal validity because of conflict with the Mandate or otherwise.

On the 25th April, 1920, the Principal Allied Powers agreed to entrust to His Britannic Majesty the Mandate for Palestine. The terms of the Mandate itself were not determined until later and after consultation with the United States of America. They were finally defined by the Council of the League of Nations at London on the 24th July, 1922.

The provisions of the Mandate constituted a covenant between His Majesty and the Principal Allied Powers, but like the provisions of any other treaty or convention it would not itself be a law capable of enforcement by the Courts. Such international obligations can only be enforced by the enactment of suitable legislation in the territory concerned. What is suitable or necessary in this respect if the provisions do not carry out the intentions of the Powers concerned would no doubt make suitable representations. By order of His Majesty in Council made under the authority of the Foreign Jurisdiction Act, 1890, His Majesty established the Palestine Government and gave to the High Commissioner such legislative powers as appeared necessary for the task entrusted to him. If these arrangements did not fulfil the obligations involved in the selection of His Majesty as Mandatory by the Principal Allied Powers and the terms of the Mandate, diplomatic representations would no doubt have been made by the Powers concerned. In fact, no such representations have ever been received. There is no legislation in force in Palestine today that is not authorised by those Orders in Council.

4. ".... The Anglo-American Committee of Enquiry last year, which was publicised beforehand as a tremendous achievement by the present Government in London, and whose unanimous recommendations were later shelved contemptuously by that same Government". (Page 2).

The British Government were not prepared to approve the recommendations of the Anglo-American Committee except as a whole. The views of the United States Government on these recommendations have been made known and no further comment is necessary, particularly on the word "contemptuously."

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5. "Great Britain is here as a mandatory to give effect to the internationally guaranteed pledges given to the Jewish people in the Balfour Declaration." (Page 13).

It is a common feature of presentations of the Jewish case to overlook the elementary fact that the Mandate also imposed specific obligations towards the Arabs, and with regard to the Holy Places, and the general obligations to give effect to Article 22 of the Covenant of the League of Nations. Both Jewish claims and Arab claims were subject to the rights of others. In the view of the Royal Commission the forcible conversion of Palestine into a Jewish State against the will of the Arabs would clearly have violated the spirit and intention of the Mandate system. (Royal Commission, Report, page 42).

6. "The Permanent Mandates Commission declared un-
animously that "the policy set out in the White Paper was not
in accordance with the interpretation which the Commis-
sion had always placed upon the Palestine Mandate."
(Page 31).

The statement as it stands is true, but the Commission went on to say that this did not mean that such an interpretation was necessarily contrary to the Mandate.

In its report to the Council of the League the Commission stated that four of its members "did not feel able to state that the policy of the White Paper was in conformity with the mandate" and that the other three members considered "that existing circumstances would justify the policy of the White Paper provided the

7. "Palestine is now the only place in the civilised world where racial discrimination still exists in law". (Page 33).

In the British Commonwealth there are many countries where, in the interests of the native inhabitants and present owners of the land, the sale of land to immigrant races, including the British people themselves, is prohibited. The control of immigration by laws imposing quotas is also a recognised practice.

8. *Illegal Immigration.* (Pages 36-43).

These pages omit any reference to two facts :—

- (a) no other country would accept Jewish immigrants;
- (b) since 1935 the entry of every Jew into Palestine has evoked the most bitter protests from the Arabs.

Ten years ago (as many Jews have forgotten and many perhaps, have never known) Jewish immigrants entered Palestine under the protection of British troops and continued to seek that protection. Without it they could not have entered.

In organizing illegal immigration into Palestine the Jews have defied the law of Palestine and of other countries from which this traffic has been carried on. It is no answer to this to say that the law is unacceptable or that it is illegal, when it is not. In maintaining the law against these attempts to break it the Admin-

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Administration has been compelled to commit itself to further expenditure of its resources on deportations and the maintenance of camps in Cyprus, costing in 1946 and 1947 a sum that may amount to £3,000,000.

9. *"The Government embarked on a system of oppression which turned Palestine into a police state"*. (Page 44).

The introduction of the Emergency Regulations in 1937 was, in fact, welcomed by the Jews, since their immediate purpose was to provide powers for dealing with the Arab disturbances. The Administration was frequently pressed by the Jews to enforce them against Arab law-breakers, to impose collective fines and generally to exercise the drastic powers which the Regulations provide. The case for the Regulations was never questioned by the Jews until, as a result of Jewish lawlessness, the powers conferred by them had to be used against Jews. The reference on page 51 to "the spirit of the regime and the virtual lawlessness which it has established in this country" overlooks this fact. The Administration has never admitted that there should be one law for the Arabs and another for the Jews. Crime and lawlessness in both communities have been dealt with by application of the same laws.

The power of Press Censorship is not used to prevent publication of criticism of the Administration. This will be clear to any reader of the Palestine Press. It is, however, used to prevent the publication of news calculated to inflame racial passions, and its necessity has been recently demonstrated by the amount of such material which, during the Committee's visit to Palestine, has been kept out of the Arab press.

10. *"The Administration has openly confessed its hostility to the Mandate"*. (Page 61).

sets out the difficulties experienced by the Administration in its endeavours to discharge the conflicting obligations of the Mandate and nowhere expresses like or dislike. It is noteworthy that the memorandum has been criticised by the Arabs on the opposite ground that it reveals the alliance between Britain and Zionism.

11. *"It would be interesting to know what are the special privileges accorded to Jews in Palestine. Is it that, as His Excellency the High Commissioner has mentioned the other week, the Jews pay 70 per cent of the taxes while the Arabs get approximately 70 per cent of the services?"*. (Page 63).

No such statement was made. What the High Commissioner said on the occasion referred to was that between 60 per cent and 70 per cent of the revenue was paid by Jews; of the allotment to education which is made proportionately to the numbers of children of school age of each community, about 69 per cent goes to the Arabs. (See also paragraph 12 of this chapter).

One of the privileges possessed by Palestine Jews is that they have been able to draw on very large financial resources available to Jewry as a result of its activities in other countries. Without the use of these resources the National Home could not have been established nor maintained in its present form. These resources are not available to the Arabs.

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C. Mr F. Bernstein (Seventeenth meeting, 6th July).

12. *"The British Government used and uses Jewish tax money largely for Arab development"*. (Page 16).

It has been suggested in evidence before the Committee that as little as one-third of the public expenditure in Palestine is devoted to the Jewish community, in spite of the fact that this community pays two-thirds of the total revenue. There have also been comments in the Press in this sense. In the circumstances it is desirable to analyse the expenditure in relation to the actual facts. While it would not be possible to carry out a strictly accurate analysis owing to certain factors not being susceptible to mathematical analysis, it is nevertheless possible to make a reasonably accurate assessment.

In the first place, it has certainly been shown that the Jews contribute substantially more than the Arabs towards revenue. At p. 578 of the "Survey of Palestine" it is recorded that the Jews pay 63 per cent of the taxes. There is no reason to believe that this percentage has since been varied. It will be recalled, however, that Mr Kaplan, in his evidence before the Committee, stated that the Jews paid "more than three times that of the Arabs." This statement is not supported by the statistics. The reasons for the substantial Jewish contribution in taxes, in relation to their numbers, need no elaboration here.

A general analysis of the public expenditure as provided for in the 1947/48 Estimates shows that the Jewish community benefits from approximately £P.750,000 less than the Arabs out of a total expenditure of £P.24½ million. The general analysis referred to takes into account that benefits to the Jews preponderate in the case of some social and development services, and the benefits to the Jews preponderate in others. In the former category are Agriculture, Education, Health, Social Welfare and Veterinary, in respect of which the Arab community receives, on an average, two-thirds of the benefits. This balance is reversed in the case of benefits derived from the Co-operative Societies Department; Department of Commerce and Industry; Broadcasting; Postal; Telegraph and Telephone services, and Road communications. In addition, statistics over the last five to ten years show that the Jewish community, by virtue of its better organisation, etc., in local administration, has received the lion's share of grants-in-aid and loans from public funds. In the calculations, which result in a clear indication that the Jews receive almost exactly half the benefits of public expenditure, account has been taken of the fact that Jewish terrorism is at present responsible for all expenditure on security (i.e. Police and Prisons) in excess of what may be regarded as normal.

With the exceptions mentioned above all expenditure on administrative and departmental services has been calculated as benefiting the respective communities in direct ratio to population statistics, that is to say, as 2 is to 1 in favour of the Arabs.

In this connection it is of interest to note the following:—

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(a) During the last seven years, in respect of which figures for loans to Local Authorities (Municipalities and Local Councils) are readily available, the Jews have benefited from 77 per cent of the funds thus employed.

(b) Of the total recent allocation of special loan funds (from Bearer Bond Issues) amounting to £P.2,288,000, for ex-servicemen's housing and other purposes, the Jewish local authorities have benefited as to 89 per cent of the total. This balance will, of course, be adjusted as soon as further allocations are made and the Arab local authorities are in a position to submit sound development schemes, but it serves to illustrate the considerable use of public funds from which the Jews have benefited.

(c) Over the period of the last ten years, Jewish local authorities have received 62 per cent of the outright grants-in-aid from public funds.

In all the above examples it has been assumed that, in the case of a mixed municipality, the benefits derived have been equally shared as between Jews and Arabs.

13. *"The customs tariff of Palestine is built on purely fiscal lines"*. (Page 21).

The history of steps taken to assist industrial development through the medium of the Customs Tariff is summarised in Section 11, pages 1252-1262 of Vol. III of the Survey of Palestine. It is not a fact that the Customs Tariff of Palestine is built on purely fiscal lines. The tariff has a two-fold purpose :

(i) to provide revenue, as in all other countries, and

(ii) to foster and protect industrial development by exempting raw materials from payment of customs duties as far as possible, and by imposing

The tariff has been built up and amended year by year in response to *ad hoc* representations from industry. In general, the attitude of the Administration has been to grant protection where merited in each individual case, subject, of course, to the protective duty not being so high as to increase unduly the cost of living to the detriment of the majority of the inhabitants. Regard has also been had to other considerations such as beneficial effects or otherwise on the employment position.

There was in existence before the war a Standing Committee for Commerce and Industry which included representatives of the public, but this Committee has been in abeyance since 1941 and a recent intention to revive it was postponed in view of the Jewish Agency's policy of "non-co-operation." Its terms of reference and constitution are at page 1067 (Vol. II) of the Survey of Palestine. During the war years its functions were undertaken by the War Supply Board and the War Economic Advisory Council.

The following are some of the principal raw materials exempted from customs duty :—

Barley, maize, malt, cocoa, hops, asphalt, clay and other non-metalliferous mining and quarry products; cotton, fibres, wool, certain oils and oil-seeds, hides

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and skins, paper-making materials, rubber, rough diamonds, bottles and jars, unfinished optical glass, pig iron and other iron and steel manufactures, lead ingots, pins, etc., for artificial teeth; printer's type, unwrought tin, zinc ingots, agricultural machinery, cotton yarn, woollen and worsted yarn, silk yarn, acids and other chemicals, celluloid sheets, machinery and equipment imported for citrus products.

The exemption list is, in fact, an unusually long one.

As regards articles wholly or mainly manufactured, the position is, as stated above, that the rates of duty have been designed only in part to yield revenue. They are lowered or increased from time to time on representations from industries, in accordance with the degree of protection or assistance which appears to be appropriate. It is necessary, of course, also to have regard to the desirability not to increase the cost of living by additional duties without good justification. It is on these principles that the Standing Committee for Commerce and Industry considered their recommendations. Certain imported goods are essential and are not produced in Palestine; duties in these cases have admittedly been levied for revenue purposes. As regards sugar, the duty at present is not 43 per cent but 33 per cent.

Tractors are not subject to any duty at all, if for agricultural purposes. All agricultural machinery is exempt from duty. It might be mentioned that surcharges on motor cars which varied from LP.50 to LP.240 according to value were removed, together with all other surcharges, early in 1947 as a measure to help in reducing the cost of living.

of Article 18 of the Mandate in this connection.

14. *"Import licences have been granted with special liberality for industrial consumer goods that were also produced in this country". (Page 22).*

The fact is that the policy has been to issue licences freely for all goods required except that —

(i) in the case of hard currency areas, imports must be restricted for currency reasons on the basis of "essentiality";

(ii) in the case of most commodities in short supply, such as cereals, sugar, oils and fats, the Government (through the Government Agents) is the sole importer, and, in a world of shortages, endeavours to obtain as much as it can to meet local requirements.

To have restricted closely imports of consumer goods during the immediate post-war period, when there has been so much spending power in the community could only have aggravated the strong inflationary tendencies, with an attendant adverse effect upon local industry by further increasing costs of production, and would also have brought about widespread black market conditions.

15. *"The Government displayed no concern whatsoever about providing us with imports of raw materials and machinery at low world-market prices". (Page 22).*

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On the whole it is believed that Palestine is not treated unfairly by the I.E.F.C. in the matter of allocation of loading areas.

This Government, like any other, has made strenuous efforts to reduce the cost of living. This is the purpose of the liberal policy in import licensing of consumer goods (against which the witness protests), subsidisation of foodstuffs, the annual expenditure on which is still well in excess of £P.1 million, and a full price control machinery, which is still in operation. However, there are two all important factors over which the Government has little or no control, namely the surplus purchasing power still in evidence as a result of a war-time prosperity largely derived from the presence and needs of the armed forces, and, secondly, the rising world cost of certain principal foodstuffs in respect of which Palestine is dependent upon imports (e.g. grain and vegetable oil products). The effect of these important factors upon the high cost of living is, moreover, enhanced by the high wage policy of Trade Union organisations, the impetus of which derives solely from the Jewish community.

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17. *Gift Dollars.* (Page 32).

The arrangement with the Jewish Agency regarding gift dollars can only be regarded as a considerable concession to one part of the community in unusual circumstances, in spite of the general policy of controls in force throughout the sterling area. Even had the concession been less substantial it would have been one conferring a benefit upon the Jewish section of the community at a time when the non-Jewish section of the community was not in a position to reap similar benefits. So far as Government is aware, moreover, the arrangement has worked to the satisfaction of the Jewish Agency, with the exception of a short period during which its interpretation was in doubt. An Arab firm has recently challenged, unsuccessfully, the legality of the gift dollar arrangement.

It should be recorded that, apart from the release of an appreciable amount in dollars annually for essential imports from the United States of America, hard currency has been released for imports of wheat and flour from Canada, and Palestine has also been enabled to purchase in sterling from Britain certain goods, particularly manufactured tobacco, for which Britain had previously paid in dollars or other hard currency. Furthermore, Palestine has received appreciable imports from Britain, which could otherwise have earned hard currency for the latter by export, e.g. to North America instead of to Palestine.

The position may be summarised as follows :

(1) The dollars accruing to the sterling bloc through Palestine fall into two categories :—

A. Dollars received from sale of Palestine products (mainly diamonds) in the U.S.A.

B. Dollar remittances from the U.S.A. for which Palestine exports nothing.

These are composed of :

(1) That part of the Jewish Agency gift dollars fund collected in the U.S.A. which the Agency *elects* to remit here for their expenses, etc.

(2) Contributions to other institutions in Palestine (e.g. the Hebrew University) and remittances to individuals.

(2) The sterling bloc does NOT, of course, receive those dollars which are allocated for the financing of Jewish Agency imports, as the dollars involved are paid out of the fund in the U.S.A. against compensatory sterling payments by importers to the Jewish Agency here.

(3) On the debit side (i.e. the dollars which Palestine spends out of sterling bloc resources) there are two items :

A. Dollars made available by local control to pay for imports, for travel purposes and for remittances.

B. Dollars made available by United Kingdom control for those purchases made by the Crown Agents on behalf of this Government and its departments.

The total under paragraph (1) above amounted in 1946 to £8½ million worth of dollars.

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Only that portion of the fund which the Jewish Agency considers it DESIRABLE to bring to Palestine ever comes into the sterling pool.

(a) those used to finance imports under the approved gift dollar scheme;

(b) those which remain in the Jewish Agency's dollar account in New

18. *Fuel Prices.* (Page 33).

18. *Fuel Prices.* (Page 33).

The prices quoted in respect of benzine bear little relation to the facts, which are as follows. In Palestine the retail price per gallon is now 165 mils; but, after deducting the 13 mils temporary increase, the real price under present conditions is 152 mils per gallon. After deducting duty the net price is 52 mils per gallon. The comparative figures for the United Kingdom are as follows : (quoted in mils)

	United Kingdom	Palestine
Price per gallon	100	165
Less duty	48	13
Net price	52	152

Retail price to the consumer—96 mills; deduct duty 37 mills; result = 59 mills net price.

Whereas, admittedly, benzine has been used as a convenient medium for substantial indirect taxation, it should be pointed out that the duty on kerosene is less than 5 mils per gallon, and that there is at present no duty on fuel oils. The latter is purposely designed as an aid to Palestinian industry, and the almost nominal duty on kerosene is intended as an indirect assistance to industry—indirect in that it helps to keep down the cost of living amongst the poorer sections of the community, who constitute the labour force of local industry.

With regard to the price formula by which net oil prices are fixed, this is at present under review. It is relevant to recall, however, that, had it not been for the oil concessions, to which objection is taken by Mr Bernstein, Palestine's economic position would have been disastrous during the war. Coal was virtually unobtainable owing to shipping difficulties; and as a result of these concessions, industry was not only maintained, but considerably expanded to the advantage of the entire population. Notwithstanding the absence of coal the supply of electric power has increased three-fold since 1939.

Sales of Electric Power (in thousands of kilowatt-hours).

1939	37,866
1942	54,580
1943	66,356
1944	81,446
1945	85,640
1946	112,901
1947 (4 months)	48,281

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19. *The Arab Boycott.* (Page 35).

From the very inception of the boycott, strong representations have been made to and by His Majesty's Government. The facts are that imports from the boycotting countries increased from LP.7.8 million in 1945 to LP.8.5 million in 1946, while exports from Palestine to those States decreased from LP.3.5 in 1945 to LP.1.2 million in 1946. The increase in imports is due mainly to the fact that Palestine is far from self-sufficient in foodstuffs and other essential commodities; and in a world of shortages, Palestine has no alternative but to import essential supplies from wherever possible. This very fact is likely, in future years, to react to the disadvantage of the boycotting countries when world supplies become abundant and available for import into Palestine in lieu of imports from surrounding States. For these reasons, and having regard to the political causes which gave rise to the boycott, it has not been considered appropriate to institute any retaliatory measures.

D. Mr L. Kaplan. (Seventeenth meeting, 6th July).

20. *"The position as regards water resources was equally characterised by imprecision. Please note that this uncertainty and imprecision still holds good in the minds of the Government after 27 years of its rule in the country".* (Page 47).

The Government has carried out, through its Irrigation Service, a suitable programme of investigations into the water resources of the country. Though the co-operation of Jewish bodies in this programme has been welcomed, the predominant part has been that of the Government. The exact whereabouts, quantity and quality of water under the ground, the store of information at Government's disposal is certainly larger than that in any other hands; the Government, nevertheless, cannot claim that its knowledge is precise.

The information collected by the Government in regard to surface resources is sufficient to enable it to proceed with the construction of schemes. The Government is no less anxious than anyone to see the country's water resources exploited and properly used. Had it not been for the lack of the necessary legislation to settle water rights and to control the distribution of the water, some of these schemes might already have been executed.

21. *"If we take only the rural population, we have a ratio as between Jewish and Arab population of 1 to 5 in Palestine as compared with a ratio of cultivated land of 1 to 10".* (Page 48).

The ratio of Jewish-owned to Arab-owned cultivable land is 1 to 6.5, the difference between cultivated and cultivable land being insignificant in this connection.

22. *"In the neighbourhood of Beersheba, on a plateau three hundred metres above sea level, we are trying a different system of water supply — that of underground storage. By building a number of lower dams, we are trying to stop the fast-flow of flood*

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water and to recharge the underground basin. Experiments have shown that by this method an accumulation of millions of cubic metres of water is possible". (Page 62).

Most underground water is rain water which has sunk into the earth until it has come to a stratum through which it cannot permeate, and along which it may flow. In one or two places in the world, the idea has been conceived of trying to increase the percolation of rain-fall in certain areas underneath which there are known to be water-bearing strata. The experiments referred to in this evidence are presumably experiments made in some other country. Of course millions of cubic metres of storm water do percolate from the wadis into the underground, but unfortunately where such water has been tapped in the Negeb, it has generally been found to be saline.

23. *" We are trying a third method of bringing water from a distance, and you have seen the work done at Nir Am and our water pipeline, that may soon cover a distance of 164 kilometres. The cost of the water through the pipeline will be, in its first stage, about 16 mils per cubic metre. But again we are still in the stage of experimentation. Higher than average water costs are justified in this arid zone". (Page 62).*

This scheme is, it is understood, not claimed by the Jewish Agency to be economic. For irrigation purposes the capital cost in its present stage would appear to be in the neighbourhood of £P.300 to £P.500 an acre and the annual cost of the water supply scheme for irrigation purposes, at such a cost. It is also worthy of note that schemes such as this involving the abstraction of water from one area, and its despatch to another and distant area will always raise the question of the rights of the inhabitants of the area from which it is abstracted. This question, of course, has to be duly considered.

Moreover, there is an acute shortage of pipes for the extension of irrigation in Palestine. If the 3,800 tons of 6-inch piping, which are being used by the Jewish Agency for this experiment, had been used to irrigate Jewish-owned land in other parts of Palestine which lie close to water supplies which it is known can be developed, it should have been possible to convert a larger area of non-irrigated land to irrigated land, and to supply water to them at a rate far lower than 16 mils per cubic metre. The "Negeb" pipeline scheme of the Jewish Agency in its present stage is effecting the settlement of only some hundreds of additional Jews on the land and converting to irrigation only a few thousand dunums of dry-farming land. The Jewish Agency has stated that the income-producing capacity of one dunum of irrigated land is five times as high as that of one dunum of other land (p. 121 of Mr Horwitz's evidence on 4th July). It would seem to follow that if the pipes and other capital now being used for an expensive experiment in the Beersheba sub-district had been used instead on Jewish lands in northern Palestine the absorptive capacity of the land already in Jewish ownership could have been increased

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immediately to a far greater extent than is possible in the Beersheba area where the water sources are more distant.

24. "I turn now to the second of our stultifying legends—that of the scarcity of water in Palestine. About forty years ago, in 1908, the Zionist Organization started its colonising work in this country. There was then not a single modern well in Palestine. About fifteen years later, the total irrigated area in Palestine was about thirty thousand to forty thousand dunums. Now the area under irrigation totals four hundred and fifty thousand dunums, which means that in the last twenty-five years the area has increased more than ten-fold. But we are confident that it is possible to increase the irrigated area further to an amount totaling at least eight times as much as in now irrigated". (Page 67a).

There has admittedly been an increase in the irrigated area, mostly in that irrigated by water pumped from underground. The impression given here that the increase in the irrigated area has been due solely to Zionist endeavour is misleading. Two-thirds of the present irrigated area in the coastal plain, where the water is pumped from wells for the citrus groves, half of which are in Arab hands. Of the total area irrigated in Palestine, which is about 500 square kilometres, 230 are estimated to be Jewish and 270 Arab. The Government of Palestine also has taken a hand in the development of irrigation; see section 2 of Chapter X, of Volume I, of the Survey of Palestine.

Nothing has come to light which would cause the Government to take a more favourable view of the possibilities of irrigation than that indicated in paragraph 77 (page 414) of Chapter X of the Survey. No assured supply of water has yet been discovered, either in the investigations so far made by the competent Government Department or by any other investigators, to make possible the irrigation of more than two million dunums, including the half million already irrigated. As an economic proposition it is not possible in the Government's view to do much more than double the existing area.

25. "I understand now that the Hays-Savage scheme is contested, in some particulars, by the Palestine Government's water officers. We proposed fifteen months ago that a round-table conference should be held where the American experts and the water officers of the Palestine Government would be brought together in order to clear up the differences of opinion. Some members of the Anglo-American Committee heard the explanations of Messrs Hays and Savage (see "The Jewish Case", page 612), but I regret to state that the Government representatives did not appear at that meeting and up till now most of the criticism of the Government has been kept secret". (Page 68).

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The circumstances of Mr Hays' stay in Palestine and of Mr Savage's visit will be found set forth on pages 411 and 412 (paragraphs 73 to 75) in Chapter X of the Survey of Palestine, Vol. I.

The Palestine Government has never received any application from the Jewish Agency proposing that their American experts should confer with the officers of the Government irrigation authority and discuss the proposed scheme. It would appear that if certain members of the Anglo-American Committee met Messrs Hays and Savage, they did not ask the representatives of Government to be present on the occasion.

As stated in Chapter X of the Survey, the data on which the American experts were relying have never been compared with the official records nor the method of their use and application discussed with the Government authority. The Government has never been given by the Jewish Agency any information regarding the project, or received any application that the proposals might be considered by the Government, as a proposition for consideration, adoption and execution. It is understood from evidence given that a revised scheme has now been prepared by Mr Savage; Government was not previously aware of this and has not so far received a copy of this scheme.

The Jewish Agency refer to further calculations prepared by the Agricultural Research Institute from which the conclusion is drawn that the figure of $2\frac{1}{2}$ million dunums mentioned by Mr Hays could be increased to 3.3 million. The Palestine Government has not been shown these calculations. It cannot be agreed that, with the water available and even assuming that schemes were not restricted by ordinary economic considerations, the land irrigated, unless by "irrigation" is meant something considerably less than full irrigation.

26. "The quantity of irrigated land needed for an additional Jewish population associated with one million immigrants is about 650,000 dunums and the quantity of water needed is about 450,000,000 cubic metres. These quantities of land and water are certainly available. There is no question that Palestine has far more land and water than are required for a Jewish immigration of one million. Serious disagreement is possible only if we consider significant multiples of one million". (Page 77).

This part of the evidence appears to refer to a new plan described as a 'limited' scheme. The Palestine Government has received no information about such a proposal.

On page 76 of the evidence, a quantity of water equivalent to 1,600,000,000 cubic metres per dunum to be used in the scheme for new irrigation, i.e. to irrigate land not previously irrigated (see page 70), is described as "a quantity of water which is available even at the most conservative estimate of water potentialities in Palestine". It would appear that the Jewish Agency expect to use the whole of the Jordan. If Trans-Jordan's share of the Jordan is excluded, it is by no

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means certain that such a quantity of water could be available for *new* irrigation in an average year; it would certainly not be available in a dry year. In any case, much of it is wadi storm water which cannot be fully utilised by ordinary economic means. Owing to the uncertainty as to what is available from underground sources it is impossible for anyone to give anything approaching a precise figure. None of the Palestine Government estimates put the water available for *new* schemes (whether economic or otherwise) as high as 2,000,000,000 cubic metres (quoted by the Jewish Agency on page 76). The area to be irrigated in the plan discussed by the Jewish Agency totals $2\frac{1}{2}$ millions dunums and the average water allocation is 640 cubic metres per dunum per year, a rate so low that the land so irrigated must be classed as "partly irrigated" rather than "irrigated".

The figure of 2,000,000,000 cubic metres is a rough guess at the total amount of all surface and underground supplies. In the case of surface water it is a figure calculated on quantities available *at source*: in many cases to transfer it to the fields would be uneconomically expensive and there might be great losses.

With regard to the "limited scheme" described above, the Jewish Agency state that the irrigated land needed for "an additional Jewish population associated with one million immigrants" is about 650,000 dunums and the quantity of water needed is about 450,000 cubic metres a year and that "these quantities of land and water are certainly available". It would be possible to provide new irrigation for the 650,000 dunums stated to be needed in this case but only if some expensive and probably uneconomic schemes were introduced.

Such an area, i.e. 650,000 dunums, might be considered to be about the approximate limit of the area which could at present be considered as having a potential supply of water—that is without resorting to speculative assumptions regarding the proportion that can actually be utilised of the water available at the source.

The Palestine Government has of course schemes for the areas which the Jewish Agency are thought to have in mind, without information as to the details of the proposals, it is difficult to comment. Much of the land is owned and cultivated by Arabs.

27. "An average price level of 50 per cent higher than the pre-war figure is perhaps a reasonable expectation". (Page 81).

Most authorities would consider the future level of cost of large-scale development in Palestine to be between 175 and 200 as compared with a pre-war level of 100.

E. Dr A. Katznelson. (Twenty-fourth meeting; 9th July; pages 43-56).

28. This evidence gives an unbalanced picture of the health conditions in Palestine and the progress that has been made. It attributes almost all the advancement in the control of disease either to the direct medical work of the

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Jewish organisations or indirectly to the higher standards of living among the Arabs resulting from Jewish enterprise. The facts are that epidemic diseases used to ravage Palestine before the first world war. Most of the results which have been obtained among the Jewish population and practically all prevention among the Arab population have been the work of the Administration. Doubtless shortage of time at his disposal while giving evidence prevented Dr Katznelson from making this point clear to the Committee.

In 1946 Government spent the sum of LP.934,000 on health services. Of this, about LP.450,000 went to the maintenance of Government hospitals. The sum of LP.81,900 was paid as grants to Jewish institutions, the remainder being spent on public health. It will be seen that 15 per cent of the total funds available for treatment were allocated as direct grants to Jewish institutions.

29. The Department of Health maintains a total of 1,508 beds in general, infectious diseases, and mental hospitals. Of these 378 beds are maintained at purely Jewish hospitals, while 383 beds are in hospitals used by Arabs only. The remaining beds are at hospitals situated among a mixed community and are available for both Jews and Arabs. The Jewish community prefers its own purely Jewish hospitals and does not always care to make adequate use of the facilities provided by the Department of Health.

It was stated that the Jewish social services cost the Jewish community some LP.10 per capita, per annum. Of this sum LP.5 per capita is spent on health services. Almost the whole of this goes to maintain hospitals and clinics and pay maintenance grants to the sick. Except for some anti-malarial work very little preventive medicine is done by the Jews. The sum of LP.5, per capita, spent by the Jews on their own medical facilities is to be compared with the 300 mils, per capita, maintained for Government hospitals in the United Kingdom. The Ministry of Health in the United Kingdom pay subsidies on a fifty-fifty basis to municipal or voluntary hospitals, and that this ought to be done in Palestine. As is well known, up to the present the State does not make such grants in the United Kingdom to either local authority or municipal hospitals.

30. The disproportion between the resources which Government is able to make available for health work among the community as a whole and the Jewish community's own resources is very marked. The Jewish argument seems to be that because the Jews are in a position to spend so much on themselves the administration should concentrate all its resources in helping them. Unfortunately if the whole LP.530,000 spent in 1946 on Government treatment services had been paid as a grant to Jewish institutions, Government would still have been liable to an accusation that they had only paid about 15 per cent of the total Jewish health budget and so had neglected to carry out their duty of paying 50 per cent.

31. Complaint was made that Government is unable at this stage to implement a national health insurance scheme for Palestine. It was said that "Government shirks its elementary duties towards the health of a large working community and has placed on the shoulders of this community the entire burden for providing

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for its medical requirements." This is not correct. The Department of Health has had to advise for the present against attempting to implement a national health insurance scheme for Palestine. Until such time as adequate hospital, clinic and general practitioner services are available to make such a scheme practicable for the whole population the policy of the Department of Health has to be to concentrate its energies and utilise its staff and funds where the need is greatest. The Jewish community have been in the fortunate position of being able to help themselves. The Administration has recognised their good work and has endeavoured to encourage them by making grants to assist with their hospital service. The financial resources available to the Department of Health are so small compared with the needs of the whole community of Palestine that it is impossible to do more.

32. In 1947/48 about LP.80,000 only is available for the new building programme of the Department of Health. The reason that Government was unable to satisfy the demand from the Vaad Leumi for half a million pounds as a capital grant for the Jewish hospital building programme is obvious.

The needs in this country with regard to both mental diseases, and tuberculosis hospitals are recognised. The trouble has been, and still is, that sufficient funds are not available for an adequate building programme. Mental patients are treated at present at Bethlehem and Jaffa Mental Hospitals. Tuberculosis patients are treated in such beds as can be made available in the Government infectious diseases hospitals. Admittedly, existing facilities are not adequate; but at present, while hospital building costs are six times as much as they were before the war, a new hospital costs about LP.2,000 per bed. Any extensive building programme is out of the question. It is estimated that at the present time to build the ideal number of mental beds required for Palestine would cost between LP.10,000,000 and LP.20,000,000. The Department of Health has advised that funds should not be dissipated at this time, but should be conserved until building costs have reached a more normal level.

The Vaad Leumi has a different point of view about this. They feel that at all costs they must establish more hospitals and clinics so as to be in a position to provide treatment facilities for the expected large numbers of new immigrants. The result of this is that their programme tends to be unbalanced. They are at times prepared to sacrifice the standards of hospital construction in order to provide the largest possible number of beds. This is not to say that their plans for new hospitals are not admirable, but there is an unfortunate tendency to crowd four patients into a two bed ward.

33. The figures given for the percentage of Jews among the Government medical staff are incorrect. At present there are 7 Assistant Senior Medical Officers of whom 2 are Jews. There are 2 Specialists and Assistant Specialists of whom one is a Jew. Out of 66 Medical Officers, 19 are Jews and out of 11 House Physicians, 7 are Jews. Of the 101 doctors on the present establishment, 31 are Jews. In addition the department employs 4 full-time Jewish doctors; 4 part-time Jewish doctors, and 2 Jewish honorary consultants.

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sons protected from the disease, is that which has successfully removed infection from all larger towns, thereby safeguarding 42.7 per cent of the total population. This work has been organised, directed and maintained by Government.

It must be borne in mind that much of the land originally acquired by Jewish bodies in rural areas was according to Palestine standards well-watered by springs and streams and, therefore, malarious and subject to the terms of the Anti-malarial Ordinance.

In no case has a Jewish body been required to expend funds by Government otherwise than in compliance with this law. In the isolated instances in which contributions have been made towards anti-malarial works in other than Jewish lands these have been entirely voluntary and with a specific object in view, such as the safeguarding or promotion of a commercial undertaking, for example the work done on other than Jewish lands by the Palestine Electric Corporation in the Jordan Valley; the Palestine Potash Company, in the Dead Sea area; the Hano-teah Company in its contribution to the drainage of the Birket Ramadan Marsh; the Athlit Salt Company in converting the low lying marshland near the coast into salt drying pans; the Nesher Cement Company in its control work on the Kishon in the neighbourhood of Yagur, near Haifa.

37. The rural anti-malarial (anti-mosquito) measures carried out in this country may be classified as follows :—

(1) MAJOR SCHEMES AFFECTING LAND RECLAMATION AS WELL AS ANTI-MALARIAL control.

(2) The clearance, straightening and regulation of springs and streams to obliterate marshy areas.

The position in respect of the first is this :—

Out of 74,490 dunums of marshy land existing in Palestine prior to 1920, 50,540 has been reclaimed by Government. Of the remaining 24,950 dunums; 3,500 were reclaimed by Arabs; 6,000 are still not drained, and the remainder, approximately 15,500 dunums, have presumably been drained by Jews.

The expenditure incurred by Government on the drainage and reclamation of the 50,540 dunums mentioned amounted to LP.158,150. The cost to Government of the clearing, straightening of the springs and the maintenance of the area in which they exist, as well as the cost of anti-larval control, has been LP.444,000. These streams and water channels have a total length of 987 kilometres.

In addition to this, the work organized and directly carried out by Government, in controlling approximately 60,000 cisterns in urban areas and many of the larger villages, has necessitated the employment of an average of 59 permanent inspectors as well as 200 oilers.

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Free labour to the extent of 20,000 labour days, per annum, has also been made available by Arab villagers throughout the country and about 3,000 labour days by Jewish local councils.

In conclusion, while it is admitted that Jewish rural settlement has been primarily in malarious areas of the country, it must be emphasised that only comparatively insignificant areas of permanent marsh land have been reclaimed by Jews, and that all the anti-malarial work in urban areas has been done by Government.

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CHAPTER III

NOTE ON EDUCATION

The "Survey of Palestine" prepared in December, 1945, and January, 1946, contains a full account of the structure and organisation of Education in Palestine (Vol. II, Ch. XVI). It may be useful to members of the Committee, who in the course of hearing evidence have shown an interest in this subject, to possess some additional information, particularly on the more recent developments which could not be included at the time the Survey was written.

Arab Education.

2. The most recent available figure of school attendance (i.e. for 1946/47) of all pupils within the Arab Public System was 92,000 boys and girls. The figure in 1931/32, i.e. just before Government was able to resume expansion schemes for rural and urban schools, was 24,800; the increase in the last fifteen years is, therefore, 67,200. The percentage of Arab children in attendance at all types of school, private and public, for the full school age course 5-14 was approximately 57 per cent of boys and 23 per cent of girls. If, however, we take the number of children attending school for a shorter minimum period of five years, the percentages are 74 per cent boys and 27 per cent girls.

3. These increases are due in a large measure to the growing activity of Local Education Authorities in building schools. The number of rural public schools is now 453, an increase of 21 since January, 1946. Buildings in Arab rural areas are erected at the expense of the inhabitants assisted by grants-in-aid from Government. Government normally maintains these schools fully, providing for the staff and teaching equipment, though some Local Education Authorities have recently supplemented the number of teachers Government could provide by the appointment of locally paid teachers approved by the Department of Education.

4. The crucial point in the development of the system is, of course, the supply of teachers. The total number of teachers in the Arab public system in 1946/47 was 2,480, an increase of 1,700 posts since 1931/32. Of these 510 were paid by Local Education Authorities. It is Government's policy year by year to take over as many of these local posts as possible. The supply of qualified and trained teachers is still inadequate however, and to meet this problem Government have recently decided to extend the Government Arab College at a cost of LP.150,000; it is expected that building operations will start next month. This extension will mainly provide additional teachers for the secondary and higher elementary classes. In addition, Arab education will benefit considerably from a generous offer of Mr A. R. Shoman, General Managing Director of the Arab Bank, to build a College for the training of village elementary schoolmasters at Beit Hanina, towards which Government will make a contribution to the capital cost; Government will

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also maintain the College. Other proposals include the extension of the Women's Training College in Jerusalem by the provision of new buildings and the removal of the Rural Training College for Women at Ramallah to a new site in larger premises.

5. Secondary education, another essential approach to teaching as well as to other professions, though still inadequate to the country's needs, is growing both in volume and academic standard. There were in 1946/47 2,420 Arab pupils in Government school secondary classes, an increase of 650 over 1945/46. In addition there were 2,750 Arab pupils in private secondary schools. The number of public secondary schools now taking the full 4-year course leading to the Matriculation examination (a qualification recognised for admission to Universities in the United Kingdom and elsewhere) is now four. Another eight schools will have a Matriculation class from October next. Of these schools the Government Arab College and the Rashidiya College in Jerusalem provide post-Matriculation studies up to Intermediate level.

The number of fully maintained Government scholars attending Degree courses at Universities abroad, mainly in the United Kingdom, is now 48. In addition scholarships are available through the Colonial Development Fund and the Nuffield Foundation. After the inevitable lapse of the war the enlargement of such schemes is urgently required for the training of personnel for the public service and professions in Palestine.

versity in Palestine. It is hoped that a delegation from the Colonial Inter-University Council will visit Palestine this year and advise on a scheme and initial steps to be taken.

6. Technical education for Arabs is still in its infancy. It is now represented by the Government Trade School at Haifa with some 75 students following courses in woodwork, fitting and machining, auto-repair and maintenance, and blacksmithing, sheet-metal work and welding, and the Kadoorie Agricultural School at Tulkarm with some 50 students. Some of the students at the latter school are preparing to become specialist teachers of agriculture in rural areas, a subject emphasized and encouraged in most village schools. The intention is to develop both these institutions into senior Colleges of technical and agricultural subjects, respectively, and to set up Trade Schools at a lower level in the main towns and, also, for boys intending to become practical farmers, six Farm Schools covering the different types of agricultural district. The first of these Farm Schools is now being planned. There is, of course, a good deal of pre-vocational training in agriculture and wood and metal work and weaving in the curriculum of many Elementary and Secondary schools, both public and private; mention might be made of the agricultural instruction given at the Deir 'Amr Orphanage, a private Arab institution aided by the Government Department of Social Welfare.

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Jewish Education.

7. The most recent available figure of school attendance (i.e. for 1946/47) of all pupils in the Hebrew Public System was 93,000 boys and girls. To these must be added about 22,000 pupils in Hebrew non-public schools, making a total of 115,000 Jewish pupils in all.

Partly due to expansion, but still more on account of the increase in costs, including particularly the rise in teachers' salaries and compensatory allowances, the total expenditure on Jewish education has increased materially in the last few years and is now estimated at over LP.2,000,000.

While the greater part of this expenditure continues to be provided by the Jewish Community in the form of local rates and school fees, there has been a considerable increase in the contribution of Government. Thus the total of Government grants to Jewish education in the financial year 1946/47, including grants to Hebrew non-public schools,* amounted to LP.304,800 as against LP.141,350 in 1944/45.

8. Apart from the increase in the extent of educational services, there have also been some internal changes since the publication of the Survey.

Local Education Authorities have been active in developing education in their areas, and are assuming responsibility, not only for elementary education, but for secondary, technical and further education as well.

In spite of the high costs, there has been considerable development of school buildings, both in the towns and in the settlements.

The system of secondary education and, in particular, the secondary school leaving examination conducted by the Va'ad Leumi, are being examined by Government with a view to their recognition by Universities in the United Kingdom and elsewhere.

There has been considerable development of technical education, including the provision of evening classes for apprentices. A system of scholarships for higher education in the United Kingdom and at the Hebrew University has been instituted by Government.

In the main, however, the structure of Jewish education has remained unchanged since the Survey.

Future Organization.

9. On the organizational side of Education more far-reaching changes are now contemplated and are under negotiation with the Communities concerned.

Hitherto, the two systems of education, Arab and Jewish, although treated under the Education Ordinance of 1933 as equivalent, have, in fact, been differently organized, the Arab Public Sytem being maintained by Government with additional help from Local Education Authorities; whereas the Hebrew Public System has been only assisted by Government, but maintained by the Jewish Community. It is proposed on the one hand to amend the existing legislation in order to allow

* but not including the Kadoorie Agricultural School, Mt. Tabor.

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For these differences; but at the same time it is hoped that the Arab Community will take a larger share of responsibility for the education of its children, so that the two systems will in course of time be more closely related.

(a) *Jewish Education*.—At the end of 1945 a Commission of Enquiry into Jewish Education was set up by the Secretary of State under the chairmanship of Sir Arnold McNair, now a Judge of the International Court at the Hague and previously Vice-Chancellor of Liverpool University. The Commission recommended that statutory recognition should be given to the Jewish Public System to secure for it a legal basis. For this purpose, a Board of Jewish Education should be set up, representative of the Va'ad Leumi, the Local Authorities, the Hebrew University, and Government (in a non-voting capacity), and empowered, subject to the supervision of Government, to control the administration and educational organization of Jewish education as a whole. Government have accepted this Report in principle and are now discussing with the Va'ad Leumi the actual drafting of the necessary legislation. The implementation of another recommendation of the Commission, i.e., a Government grant towards the training of teachers by the University, has already been initiated.

(b) *Arab Education*.—The need for greater consultation with the Arab Community in educational matters has led Government to decide to establish an Arab Advisory Council on Education, with wide terms of reference covering policy on curriculum; training of teachers; school buildings; finance; and development plans. It is intended to make this body as representative as possible of the Arab Community. The members will be nominated by the High Commissioner in consultation with the main organized groups, giving the Arabs greater responsibility in the public system of Arab education.

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CHAPTER IV

THE COST OF LAWLESSNESS IN PALESTINE

Of the past eleven years, nearly one-half of the period for which the Mandatory Administration has been in existence, six have been years of local disturbances and five have been years of war. During 1936-39 the Arabs expressed in terms of rebellion and violence their objections to the policy of the Mandatory Power. When the war against Germany and Japan was seen to be approaching a successful conclusion, the Jews brought into action their weapons of lawlessness and terrorism in support of their own political aims and ambitions. Progress with the plans of the Administration for the development of social services for the people of Palestine has been sorely hindered and retarded over the whole of this period by the necessity to devote to the simple maintenance of law and order so large a part of the resources of the country in men and money which could have been usefully employed in meeting the real needs of the population.

2. The short facts are that the Arab disturbances of 1936-39 cost 4,000 lives and caused material damage valued at not less than £P.1,000,000. The Jewish reactions of 1945-47 have cost 270 lives and caused material damage estimated at about £P.1,500,000. The indirect cost to the Palestine Treasury in terms of additional police, security measures, pensions and compensation runs into many millions of pounds. Over the eleven years 280 policemen have been killed in the most precisely opposite political reasons.

During the eleven years since 1935, when the last attempt to establish a legislature was frustrated, each side has in turn freely resorted to violence and declined even to discuss with the other any possible reconciliation of their differences.

3. The right of any community to use force as a means of gaining its political ends is not admitted in the British Commonwealth. Since the beginning of 1945 the Jews have implicitly claimed this right and have supported by an organised campaign of lawlessness, murder and sabotage their contention that, whatever other interests might be concerned, nothing should be allowed to stand in the way of a Jewish State and free Jewish immigration into Palestine. It is true that large numbers of Jews do not to-day attempt to defend the crimes that have been committed in the name of these political aspirations. They recognise the damage caused to their good name by these methods in the court of world opinion. Nevertheless, the Jewish community of Palestine still publicly refuses its help to the Administration in suppressing terrorism, on the ground that the Administration's policy is opposed to Jewish interests. The converse of this attitude is clear, and its result, however much the Jewish leaders themselves may not wish it, has been to give active encouragement to the dissidents and freer scope to their activities.

4. In his report to the Secretary of State on the attack made on Acre Prison by armed Jews on the 4th May, the High Commissioner described the situation in Palestine in the following terms :—

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"The first and most important element in the situation is that, because of political differences with the mandatory administration on account of the inability of His Majesty's Government to accede to Jewish demands, the Jewish community, whose dissident members are responsible for these outrages, have declined and still decline to give any assistance to the police and military forces in the maintenance of law and order. These forces are thus working in and among a population of over 600,000 whose leaders have refused to call for cooperation with the police against the extremists and have thus, however much they themselves may not have wished it, in effect encouraged the terrorist groups to further lawlessness and wanton assaults by all available means upon constituted authority in almost any form. Although representatives of the community have condemned these activities, their denunciations have been directed mainly towards defence of the Yishuv against those whose acts are damaging Jewish economy or the Jewish cause, and have stopped short of recognizing the responsibility which belongs to the citizens of any civilised state to assist in preventing crime and bringing offenders to justice. It is a situation in which a policeman is shot and lies wounded in the street beside a bus queue, no member of which will lift a finger to help him. The task of the security forces is made immeasurably more difficult by this attitude and by the impression which exists in the Jewish community that crime of this nature can somehow be eradicated without recourse to the police.

Those who refer to the presence in Palestine of 100,000 troops and who apparently fail to understand how in these circumstances terrorist outrages of a still functioning civil power, and those forces act in support of the police with the methods appropriate to that purpose. If the military forces were permitted to use the full power of their weapons against the whole Jewish community, terrorist activities would be brought to an end in a matter of hours, but such measures have never been contemplated by His Majesty's Government, nor have they ever been recommended, nor desired by the Army. Critics on the other side who have advertised what they term British atrocities need to be reminded that no other troops in the world would have exercised such restraint and tolerance in the face of such continued provocation. Stronger military action involving guilty and innocent alike would have been at any time only too easy."

It is this situation that continues to necessitate the diversion of revenue from those essential services of which the majority of the people in Palestine stand so badly in need. Some L.P.3,000,000 in addition will be required to meet the cost of dealing with illegal immigration, including the maintenance of the Cyprus camps, during 1946-47.

In spite of these exigencies, health and education services provided by the Government have expanded during this period and plans which have been drawn up for very large developments in this sphere could be put into effect if peaceful conditions were restored.

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CHAPTER V

A BRIEF NOTE ON THE "POLITICAL SURVEY, 1946-47" PRESENTED BY THE JEWISH AGENCY TO THE COMMITTEE

The Government cannot accept the general account given in the Jewish Agency's "Political Survey". The factual outline of events given in Chapter I of these Notes can be compared with that document. The following note covers only very few of the Survey's more misleading points and omissions.

In its reply to His Majesty's Government's request for its observations on the Report of the Anglo-American Committee the Jewish Agency made it plain that it was prepared to accept some of the recommendations (including that relating to the admission of 100,000) but to leave itself free to reject the recommendations for a long-term solution. His Majesty's Government were not prepared to accept the Report except as a whole, including Recommendation (10) that the Agency should cooperate in the suppression of terrorism.

The White Paper published in June, 1946, showed the complicity of the Agency in Jewish terrorism. The Hagana is not a purely 'defensive' organisation. In its attack on Givat Olga, the sabotage of the railways, the ambushing of the Police party at the attack on Athlit clearance camp, and the attacks on the radar station on Mount Carmel and at Sarona, the Hagana was used for coercive 'terrorist' purposes. Its difference from the dissident Irgun Zvai Leumi and Stern Groups was not in any principle, but only in regard to choice of strategic moments to apply force.

"At Kfar Giladi two Jewish farmers were shot and killed" (paragraph 16). They were shot while attempting to break through the cordon of troops engaged in rounding-up saboteurs.

The arrest of members of the Jewish Agency on the 29th June, 1946, and the arms searches made at that time were due to the part played by the Agency in organising and assisting terrorism. "The settlement of Yagur, where the military discovered a defence armoury, was completely isolated and suffered severe damage". (Paragraph 31). At Yagur a week's search revealed 33 caches, concealed in various parts of the settlement, containing 10 machine-guns, 325 rifles, 96 mortars, 5,267 mortar bombs, 5,017 grenades, 800 lbs of explosives, 425,000 rounds of small arms ammunition and a number of other arms. "In the trying weeks and months that followed, the Jewish community came to realise that in the ultimate resort it had to rely upon its own resources. It also came to feel that these resources were real and significant." (Paragraph 35). Terrorism continued.

The first authoritative Jewish denunciation of terrorism came from the Inner Zionist Council on the 29th October, 1946, and it was after this that the Agency leaders were released from detention.

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The emergency legislation referred to in paragraph 68 was introduced in 1937 to provide exceptional powers in circumstances of terrorisation of witnesses and of consequent reluctance of witnesses to come forward and produce evidence regarding the commission of communal acts. At that time it was widely welcomed by the Jews. The statement in paragraph 71 that 'military commanders are the virtual rulers of the areas under their command' is untrue, as is the statement in the same paragraph that 'the High Commissioner cannot over-rule any decision of the Military Authorities.'

Paragraph 74 states that a detainee is not informed of the facts on which the suspicion against him is based. One of the reasons given for non-cooperation with the Police is that in the past the source of information has been disclosed by them. Under conditions in which no witness will come forward publicly and sources of information have thus to be carefully guarded, it is understood to be the wish of the Agency that these sources should not be revealed to detained terrorists.

In paragraph 81 it is said that the reduction of the detainees' immigration quota to 750 a month caused consternation in the Cyprus camps. Up to December, 1946, no immigration had been permitted from the Cyprus camps, and the quota of 750 a month then fixed represented an increase of that amount.

Early in 1947 the occupants of the Cyprus camps wilfully destroyed over 200 of their tents costing over £P.20,000, which falls at present to be met by the Palestine Government.

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Colonial Office,
Downing Street,
S.W. 1.

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July 25, 1947.

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5 AUG 1947

My dear Bealey, Personal

--- I enclose for your information a brief note which I have prepared for submission in the Colonial Office on the Palestine Government's statement in their Supplementary Memorandum on the legal basis on which the validity of the Mandate rests. We shall no doubt be getting in touch with you at a later stage when the question has been examined by our International Relations Department and by our Legal Advisers, but I thought you might like to see the way in which I have put up the question for examination here.

*Yours ever,
W.A.C. Mathieson*

(W.A.C. Mathieson)

H. BEALEY, ESQ., C.B.E.

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The statement reads in part as follows:-

I suspect that this statement is based on a finding by the Palestine Courts to which reference was made by Mr Eliash in giving evidence on behalf of the Vaad Leumi before the Committee. We have no other reference on our papers to this decision of the Courts. Mr Eliash, on being asked by the
can be applied to Palestine, spoke as follows:

The findings of the Palestine Courts, and its re-statement in what should be an authoritative document compiled by the Palestine Government, is to my mind difficult to understand. The preparation of the Mandates for disposal of the sections of the Ottoman Empire after the 1914-18 War arose internationally in connexion with the Peace Treaty with Turkey. The status of Palestine could not be legally determined until peace was concluded with Turkey, of which, under International Law, the Holy Land was still a part. The clauses of the Turkish Treaty dealing with Mandates came before the Supreme Allied Council at San Remo in 1920. The Treaty of Sevres was signed by the Turks on the 10th August 1920 and in it Turkey was required to relinquish sovereignty over the detached areas

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the Ottoman Empire and to accept whatever measures the Allies saw fit to employ in establishing and regulating the Mandatory Regime. In Article 95 it stated that the Mandatory selected by the Principal Allied Powers would be responsible for putting into effect the declaration originally made on November 2, 1917 by the British Government and adopted by the other Allied Powers in favour of the establishment in Palestine of a National Home for the Jewish people, it being clearly understood that nothing shall be done which may prejudice the civil and religious rights of existing non-Jewish communities in Palestine or the rights and political status enjoyed by Jews in any other country. The allotment of the Mandate for Palestine to Great Britain was not embodied in the Treaty of Sevres but agreed to by a resolution recorded in the minutes of the Supreme Council which met at San Remo to formulate the Treaty of Sevres.

The Treaty of Sevres was never ratified and after a change of government in Turkey was replaced by the Treaty of Lausanne which came into force on the 6th August 1924. Neither the League of Nations' covenant nor the Mandate's clauses of the Treaty of Sevres appeared in the Lausanne Agreement. The Turkish Government was simply required to renounce sovereignty over all territory outside its new frontiers. In July 1922, however, League of Nations approval had been given to the terms of the Syrian and Palestine Mandates. The Mandate for Palestine had been drafted by Great Britain, modified after consultation with France and Italy, and agreed to by the United States of America. It took its validity however from the approval given by the League of Nations and in my view cannot be regarded as constituting a covenant by His Majesty and the Principal Allied Powers. It is not a treaty but an international instrument created under Article 22 of the Covenant of the League of Nations. The only body which can question measures taken by the Mandatory Power under this Mandate is the League of Nations itself and this body is now defunct. The only foreign state with which Great Britain entered into a formal agreement regarding the Mandate was the United States of America. While ~~regarding~~ our obligations to the United States under that agreement we would certainly not wish to accept the position that any of the other Principal Allied Powers has any right to interfere with the action we take under the Mandate. I feel that the Palestine Government's Memorandum presents what may be a dangerously false picture on this point.

In analysing the history of the formulation of the Mandate, I have relied on the very well-documented book by Paul Hanna on "British Policy in Palestine" which is generally regarded as a scholarly and reliable work. I have not had time to consult the actual text of all the treaties concerned but I pass on the minute in this form in the hope that International Relations Department and Legal Advisers may be able to comment on the statements by the Palestine

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Government in their Memorandum and advise as to whether we should induce the Palestine Government to communicate to the Committee a corrected version of Section B of Chapter 2. Foreign Office would, of course, have to be consulted.

[Signature]

25.7.47

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PALESTINE

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6696

25 JUL 1947

Registry
Number

TELEGRAM FROM

No.

Dated

Received
in Registry

E 6696/951/31.

Mr Houston Brownell

Berint.

556

23 July.

25 July.

Final Hearing of U.N.S.C.O.P.

Message for Sharp, Australian External
Affairs Office.

Reports that U.N.S.C.O.P. finished
hearings in Jerusalem on 19th July.
Committee received full presentation
of Jewish case.

Last Paper.

E 6656.

References.

(Print.)

(How disposed of.)

8) C.O.
✓ 29 July.

(Action
completed.)

M. 1/8.

(Index.)

24/8/48

Next Paper.

E 6704

(Minutes.)

by C.O.

C.A.D. Mr 3/7

HB-287

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Cypher/OTP.

6696

DEPARTMENTAL NO. 1.

25 JUL 1947
FROM BEIRUT TO FOREIGN OFFICE.

Mr. Houstoun Boswall. D. 1.15 p.m. 24th July 1947.
No. 556.
23rd July 1947. R. 4.30 p.m. 24th July 1947.

W:W:W:W:W

IMMEDIATE.

CONFIDENTIAL.

Please pass to Sharp, Australian External
Affairs Office, Cabinet Offices.

Following from Hood for External Canberra
and Austunat New York.

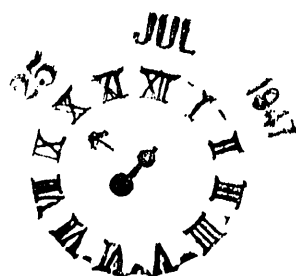
U.N.S.C.O.P. 5.

Committee finished hearings in Jerusalem on
July 19th, final day being given to the hearing in
camera of representatives of [gp. undec.] Government
who gave their reply to various allegations against
mandatory [gps. undec.] from Jewish agency. Committee
bewildered tension and disturbance which there is
every reason to think will become worse [gp. undec].
? in the] interval before report is [gp. undec.].

From Jerusalem hearings, Committee received
a very full presentation of the Jewish case from
every aspect and also in the last week or two had
some opportunity of private conversations with both
Arabs and some British officials. The formal IAL
boycott continued [gp. undec.] until the last and
it has not been until the arrival at Beirut that any
official reference to IAL case has been brought before
the Committee. A statement on behalf of IAL
Governments who are represented here in accordance
with Committee's invitation (all, excepting Transjordan)
was presented this morning by Minister for Foreign
Affairs Lebanon. The opinion is that statement was,
if anything, slightly more moderate in tone than
might have been expected although it did not deviate
in any particular from case put forward in Special
Assembly. [gps. undec.]

2. There will be another meeting with IAL
representatives at which we will attempt to elicit
from IAL attitude in rather more detail.

[Copies sent to Cabinet Offices.]



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1947

PALESTINE

E 6704

25 JUL 1947

Registry
Number

TELEGRAM FROM

No.

Dated

Received

in Registry

E 6704/951/31

Mr Houston Bowall
Beirut

SSD.

22 July.
25Statement by Arabs to U.N.S.C.O.P.Translation of statement by Arabs
to U.N.S.C.O.P at public session
at Beirut.

Last Paper.

E6696.

References.

(Print.)

(How disposed of.)

8) 9. Matheson C.O.

✓ 29 July
(on E 6749/951/31)(Action
completed.)

R 129/7

(Index.)

24/8/47

Next Paper.

E 6719

32008 F.O.P.

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Reference:-

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H.B. 28/7

GENERAL DISTRIBUTION.

Mr. Houstoun-Boswall. D. 11.45 p.m. 22nd July, 1947.
No. 550.

22nd July, 1947. R. 1.00 a.m. 23rd July, 1947.

IMMEDIATE.

Following is translation of statement by the Arabs to United Nations S.C.O.P. at public session at Beirut to-day.

1. The Arab Governments convinced that the Palestine problem only allows for one solution, namely the termination of the mandate and the independence of Palestine, and that any enquiry into a problem so clear has become superfluous, nevertheless decided to reply immediately to the invitation which was made to them by your honourable commission, appointed by the highest international authority the world has ever known.

2. They are persuaded that, anxious as you are to assure the conditions necessary for international co-operation of all peoples you will adopt, as a result of your enquiry, recommendations in conformity with the principles of free will and independence which have been consecrated in the Charter of the United Nations.

3. Similarly the Arab Governments do not intend in this memorandum to enumerate all the reasons on which the Palestine cause is based but will confine themselves to drawing the attention of the commission of enquiry to essential points: (1) the right of Palestine to self-determination. (2) The necessity for maintenance of peace in the Middle East.

(A) The right of Palestine to self-determination.

4. When the Balfour declaration was issued providing for the establishment of a Jewish national home in Palestine and opening the way for Jewish immigration the Arabs formed 95 per cent of the total population. This declaration which cannot legitimately be opposed to the Arab Palestine ignored before and after its proclamation the right of Palestine to self-determination. Later an attempt was made to force the Arabs into silence or into resignation. But far from stamping out their demands, the restrictions which they have suffered have had the effect of reinforcing them in their desire for liberation and in their faith in the justice of their cause.

5.

A circular date stamp from the National Archives. The text "JUL 25 1947" is arranged in a circle around a central point. The date "JUL 25" is on the left and "1947" is on the right. The center of the stamp features a small circular emblem with a stylized design.

Reference:-

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5. Their struggle for the independence of their country and the safeguarding of their rights goes back to the beginning of this century to the time of the national awakening of the Arab peoples subjected to Ottoman domination. They took part in the movement of liberation of these peoples, sparing neither effort nor sacrifices. They revolted with the other Arabs against the Turks and struggled by the side of the Allies on all the battlefields of the Middle East, in the Hedjaz, in Palestine, in Syria, in Lebanon, in Iraq.

6. Associated with the victory of the Allies in 1918 they had the right to enjoy that liberty for which these same Allies had fought but the liberty to which they aspired and for which they had fought was denied them for considerations which were strange to them. Finding themselves suddenly faced with the ambitions of Zionism and the undertakings of the powers in this respect, the Palestine Arabs were forced to take up against their own allies the struggle which they had undertaken against the Ottoman Empire.

7. The Allied Powers had made short and cynical shift of the promises made to the Arabs before their revolt. A mandate, on imperialist lines was imposed upon them. The most onerous of these mandates fell upon Palestine. The difference lay in the fact that whereas it was the duty of the mandatory to assist the country, its trust, and to lead it towards independence as envisaged by Article 22 of the Covenant of the League of Nations, in regard to Palestine, however, the mandate embodied the provisions of the Balfour declaration providing for the establishment of a Jewish national home in Palestine, for the promotion of Jewish immigration and the establishment of the Jews in a country which is not their own.

8. This process had disrupted the course of the historical and creative development of the Palestine Arabs. They found themselves having to struggle not only for their independence and liberation from foreign influences and pressure, but also against an onslaught of an alien people claiming a superior right to the country and relegating the right of the indigenous inhabitants to barely more than sufferance.

9. The continued struggle of the other Arab countries for independence and national sovereignty resulted in the termination of the mandate over Iraq, and finally in the complete and unconditional liberation of Lebanon and Syria from foreign occupation. The situation in Palestine, however, has been deteriorating and steadily getting from bad to worse. It has been deluged with Zionist immigration thereby frustrating Arab national development and liberation.

10. These national calamities which Palestine has suffered and the injustices which they have entailed for the indigenous population derive internationally from two legally questionable documents, namely the Balfour Declaration and the mandate. These have formed the basis of Jewish demands.

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11. In the Balfour Declaration, the British Government undertook to facilitate the establishment of a Jewish national home, thereby violating the principles of liberty, self-determination and international law. When the Balfour Declaration was issued, Britain as yet had no legal connexion with Palestine which was then part of the Ottoman Empire. Moreover the Balfour Declaration violates the commitments and undertakings previously made by Britain to the Arabs in the King Hussein-McMahon correspondence which recognise Arab independence within boundaries comprehending Palestine. Finally the Balfour Declaration contravened the Declaration of the 8th November, 1918, which proclaimed that Britain was entering the country as an Allied liberator, and not as a conquering nation.

12. As for the mandate it has the same prohibitory vices as the Balfour Declaration. It contravenes also the terms and spirit of Article 22 of the Covenant of the League of Nations. In brief whereas the Covenant of the League envisages a mandate designed to serve exclusively the interests of the mandated territories and to assist such territories in attaining full and mature independence, the Palestine mandate was designed principally to place the country in such political, administrative and economic condition to ensure the development and establishment of a Jewish national home.

13. In addition Article 23 of the Charter of the United Nations lays down that the populations of countries under mandate should be consulted. This was not done in the case of Palestine. Nevertheless, the King-Crane Commission which was sent to Palestine in 1919, defined its point of view in respect of the Balfour Declaration in the following terms.

14. [gps. undec.] impossible to establish a Jewish Government without depriving the non-Jewish population of Palestine of their religious and civic rights. The truth which the Commission was able to ascertain as a result of its conversations with the Jewish representatives is that the Jews foresee the departure of the non-Jewish inhabitants after the purchase of their land. To expose a people whose state of mind is such to an unlimited Jewish immigration is to deny these rights and to oppose those principles for which the Allies went to war.

The Peace Conference should not lose sight of the fact that the feeling of aversion in Palestine and Syria towards Zionism has reached its zenith and could not easily be any greater. All the English officials with whom the Commission spoke considered that the Zionist programme cannot be applied unless recourse is made to an armed force of at least 50,000 soldiers.

15. These conversations proved to what point the Zionist programme is prejudicial to the non-Jewish inhabitants. It is true that it is sometimes inevitable to have recourse to armed forces in order to carry out certain decisions, but it is unreasonable to use these troops for the execution of unjust decisions. Moreover, it should not be forgotten that the essential arguments of the Zionists concerning their rights in Palestine are founded on the fact that they occupied the country 2,000 years ago. This is an argument which is not worth consideration.

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16. It is to be remembered that non Jewish population of Palestine nearly nine-tenths of the whole are emphatically against the entire Zionist programme. The tables show that there was no one thing upon which the population of Palestine were more agreed than upon this. It must be believed that the precise meaning in this respect of the complete Jewish occupation of Palestine has not been fully sensed by those who urge the extreme Zionist programme. It would intensify, with a certainty like fate the anti-Jewish feeling both in Palestine and in all other portions of the world which look to Palestine as the Holy Land [unquote sic].

17. Zionists, however, have not been satisfied with the provisions of the Balfour Declaration and the mandate, despite their violation of the inalienable rights of the Arabs, but have attempted to interpret whatever ambiguity exists in these provisions to press their extreme demands and destroy effectively Arab structure and national existence in Palestine.

18. Almost at the eleventh hour Britain admitted the anomalous position created by the conflicting promises of the Allied Powers to the Arabs and Jews. She admitted that in carrying out her obligations as the Mandatory Power she was coming into conflict with the rights of the Arabs in their country on the one hand and with the promises made to the Jews on the other hand. The Balfour declaration on the other hand thereby rendering the practical implementation of the mandate impossible of realisation. On that basis therefore Britain has referred the Palestine question to the United Nations.

19. Following the failure of the last London conference with the following declaration he said: "We shall explain to the United Nations our conviction that the mandate was impossible of implementation and that it is impossible to reconcile the commitments made to the two parties".

20. This is proof that both the Balfour Declaration and the mandate were un-natural and could not provide the basis of an acceptable legal and legitimate position. This also serves to support the Arabs in their right not to recognise the provisions of these two documents which on any interpretation or analysis are found to be in violation of the most elementary rights of justice. They constitute a threat to the most treasured of Arab rights namely the right to live.

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21. To recapitulate in brief, the right of self determination which should have been enjoyed from the start by the Palestine Arabs peoples has been continuously violated and is being violated today. This right is natural conditional and inalienable and remains in perpetuity. It cannot be denied either by resort to force or on the basis of a policy of fait accompli. It is in fact the burning issue of the Palestine question in itself alone a complete answer to Zionist allegations. The Arab Governments demand its implementation in full and see in the democratic principles which inspire the United Nations tacit recognition of it and the strongest guarantee for its implementation. The Arab States do not doubt that the United Nations Special Committee on Palestine will not advance a settlement in violation of this indisputable human right or of the principles inspiring the international forum you are here to represent.

(B) Threats to peace in the Middle East.

22. The attitude of the Arab Governments and peoples with regard to Zionism is founded in the second place on their desire to preserve peace in the Middle East. This peace is menaced by expansionist ambitions and terrorist ~~actions~~ ^{the Zionist movement} was content with a refuge in Palestine. Later it demanded a national home. When it had obtained the national home it tried to extend it to make of it a sort of State in the heart of Palestine endowed with its own institutions, its own finance, its own economy and its own army. Today the Zionist wants the creation of a Jewish State in Palestine which will later engulf the whole of Palestine and before these projects even realise the Zionists hope to extend it at the expense of its Arab neighbours.

23. At the peace conference in 1918 the Zionist Organisation had in effect, in a memorandum dated 3rd February, 1919, officially claimed the whole of Transjordan and a part of Syria and the Lebanon as far north as Salda, Jisr El Karaon, Wadi-el-Teim and the Harmoun. And, in the course of the negotiations which took place in the same year between France and Great Britain in their capacity as the Mandatory Powers over these countries which had been detached from the Ottoman Empire, this same organisation demanded the extension of the northern frontiers of Palestine to the Litani River and to plains of Hauran and Jouland in Syria.

24. These territorial ambitions have been publicly supported since that time. All the responsible Zionist leaders have continued to declare their dissatisfaction with these boundaries and to describe them as "the limitations of the mandate" which Zionism refuses to recognise. They have further stated that it is their intention to enlarge them considerably in the future. Quite recently again Mr. Ben Gurion, on the occasion of the elections of the Histadruth at Haifa in 1944, declared publicly that the Jews, who were coming to Palestine by force if necessary, would not hesitate to extend the boundaries of Palestine, and that the Jewish State proclaimed by Zionism was not the final objective of this movement but a stage leading to it.

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25. And when at the beginning of 1946 the British Government made it known that it intended to recognise the independence of Transjordan within its actual frontiers, Mr. Shertock declared to the press on the 23rd January, 1946, that the Jewish Agency would oppose with all resources the realisation of this project and that the Zionists who had not previously objected to the mandate of Transjordan could not nevertheless admit the cession of Transjordan from Palestine.

26. This declaration by one of the chiefs of the Jewish Agency was reinforced by a note to the Secretary of State for the Colonies protesting against the proclamation of Transjordan independence and underlining that Transjordan which constitutes one part of the territories submitted to British mandate could only be considered as the eastern part of Palestine. The propagators of Zionism did not fail to lay before the Commission the true intentions of that organisation with regard to the frontiers of Palestine. This fact emerges from the exposition of Mr. Shertock as well as from that of Rabbi Fishman who recalled that God had promised to the Jews a territory extending from the Sinai Peninsula to the Euphrates.

27. But Zionism does not confine itself to expansionist projects at the expense of the Arab countries. Its plan includes recourse to terrorism both in Palestine and in other countries. It is known that a secret army has been formed with the object of creating a state of tension and trouble by attempts against the life of the representatives of authority and by the destruction of public buildings. The assassination of Lord Moyne in Egypt, the blowing up of the British Embassy in Rome, the King David Hotel and the officers club in Jerusalem, the Acre Prison, roads and railways as well as the kidnapping and flogging of British officers are enough examples of the terrorist methods instituted by the Zionist Organisations with a view to seizing power by violence in a country which is not their own.

28. This aggressive attitude born of the weakness shown by the mandatory powers towards Jews will not fail to provoke in its turn the creation of similar Arab Organisations. The responsibility for the troubles which may result from this throughout the Middle East will belong to the Zionist Organisations alone which will have been the first to use these methods of violence. The Arab Governments hope nevertheless that the situation of the Jewish communities in their countries will not be affected.

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29. No state could in effect accept an immigration as massive as that to which Palestine is a victim. Restrictions on immigration have been established everywhere based on the superior interests of the country and of the rights of its inhabitants. It is thus that the Canadian Government has just declared that it will only admit into its vast territories 5000 foreign refugees. The Australian Government has similarly announced that it will not tolerate the formation of colonies by refugees admitted into its territory and that these refugees must be spread out throughout the country in order that they may be assimilated. Similar measures have been taken in Norway and in numerous other countries.

30. You will have seen that the situation in Palestine is not unstable and contains the germs of conflicts which may spread to the whole of the Middle East. The Arab Governments cannot remain indifferent. The security of the own countries is in question and gives them the right, or rather makes it a duty for them, to resist Zionism by all the means in their power. Moreover the maintenance of the Arab character of Palestine which has been hers for centuries is a condition of the harmonious development of the peoples of the Middle East and of their collaboration in the work of peace and progress in the world. Palestine for ethical, cultural, political and economic reasons is in fact an integral part of the Middle East which has been suggested to be divided into sovereign states linked together by a political and economic pact, namely the Cairo pact of the 22nd March 1945. This organisation has been formed within the framework of the Charter of the United Nations and is in accordance with the spirit of that charter which encourages regional organisations and pacts. Every fissure in this whole, every difference between the states which form it, threatens to overthrow it and to plunge this particularly sensitive part of the world into trouble and disorder.

31. The Jewish state which the Zionists are determined to establish in Palestine is besides not a viable state either from the political or from the economic point of view. The Arab states could not in fact tolerate the creation of a state made up of foreign elements brought from all parts of the world with their different mentalities and their insatiable covetousness for which allusion has already been made.

32. To a state established by violence the Arab Governments will be obliged to oppose violence. That is the legitimate right of every creature in self defence. On the other hand the foreign state projected in Arab territory will not be able in any case to count on establishing economic relations with the Arab states surrounding it. A state created in these conditions could only be still borne.

Conclusion.

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Conclusion.

33. The Arab Governments fervently hope that the Commission will take into account the above mentioned considerations and will be obliged to propose a solution capable of ending the present troubles and of assuring the triumph of justice and the establishment of peace in the future. The Arab Governments are persuaded that to arrive at this goal solution can only be inspired by the democratic principles on which the organisation of the United Nations was founded.

34. The first of these principles demands that the independence of peoples and their right to dispose freely of their own future be respected. The Arab people of Palestine ask before all else that their right to liberty and to sovereign independence should be recognised. The Arab Governments are unanimous in according their support without reserve to the realisation of these claims. They have already presented precise propositions in this sense and they wish today to underline once more one of these propositions because they attach to it the greatest importance and because this proposition constitutes a fundamental condition about which there can be no compromise.

35. This proposition consists in the necessity to stop immediately all Jewish immigration into Palestine, to maintain the restrictions now in force concerning the transfer of land and the immediate formation of an independent Arab Government founded on democratic principles. The Arab Governments consider on the other hand that any project for partition far from resolving the Palestine dispute will only aggravate it. Any Jewish state created in Palestine would inevitably become a nest of intrigues and a centre for the rallying of all the Zionist forces destined to be launched against the Arab countries. The Arab Governments will in no case accept the implantation of Zionism in the form of an autonomous state and in an Arab country on which hundreds of thousands of foreign immigrants would converge.

36. The Arab Governments wish to proclaim their conviction that the partition of Palestine and the formation of a Jewish state would only result in the unleashing of bloodshed and trouble in the entire Middle East. The Royal Commission of enquiry had only to propose the partition of Palestine in 1937 to provoke a national revolution which lasted until the war. For the rest, given the geographical, economic and ethnographic conditions of the country, no plan for partition could be viable. This little country cannot be divided into two or three states opposed to each other and harbouring nothing but feelings of suspicion and hostility against each other.

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37. The only solution which would be possible and which the [Arab] Governments would consider capable of settling the dispute would be, as indicated in the project presented by the Arab delegates to the London conference on Palestine in September 1940, to form a free government based on proportionate representation and to give to all Jews who have acquired Palestine nationality by legitimate means the same rights as these given to Arab citizens. The Arabs who have always considered that the Jewish immigrants established in Palestine since the beginning of the mandate should not be considered as Palestinian citizens, wish to show by these propositions the conciliatory spirit which moves them in their ardent desire to smooth out the difficulties.

38. This proposition could not result, as certain Zionist leaders pretend, in the deprivation of the Jewish citizens of Palestine of their rights because they would remain a permanent minority. The Jewish minorities in the Arab states have never been ill treated. On the contrary, they live in perfect accord with the majority and enjoy the same rights as the rest. Ever since the most distant periods of history the Arabs have never established discrimination between peoples to whatever race and to whatever religion they belonged. They have always accorded to the Jewish communities in particular equitable treatment. Since the beginning of the mandate, they have not been oppressing them, they offered refuge to those who were fleeing from the régime of liberty and equality which was given them, have risen to highest positions in the field of politics, administration, finance and science.

39. The Zionists on the other hand tried to justify their claims by declaring that they wish to protect their co-religionists from persecutions to which they are actually subjected. Thanks however to the victory of the democracies there now exists no home of anti-semitism in the whole world. The minorities have recovered all their rights and exercise them everywhere.

40. As for the problem of refugees and displaced persons, it should be compulsorily separated from the Palestine problem and resolved on a basis of co-operation and international solidarity. There can be no question of transferring these refugees en masse to Palestine. The alleviation of the sufferings of one people should not and cannot be achieved by the aggravation of the sufferings and the annihilation of another people.

41. The Arab Governments cannot close this exposition without expressing again the hope that your Commission, taking into consideration the views which have been

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developed here, will adopt the only just solution to this problem, namely the sovereign independence of Palestine and the immediate cessation of immigration which is in danger of changing it. For any solution which does not take into account the environment of Palestine, that is to say the attitude of Arab peoples and Government would be deemed to certain failure. Moreover such a solution would only aggravate the existing dangers and would be full of menace for the future.

[Ends].

[Note by Communications Department: This telegram was received very corrupt in part and was delayed for repetition].

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1947

PALESTINE

E 6719

20 JUL 1947

Registry
Number

E6719/951/31

FROM Mr. Harrison.

No. to Mr. Beeley.

Dated 15 July.

Received
in Registry 26 July.United Nations Special Committee on
Palestine.Transmits copies of U.N.S.C.O.P.
documents, 11 encloses copy
of Palestine tel 1330 of 14/7.

Last Paper.

E6704

References.

(Print.)

(How disposed of.)

(Action
completed.)

M2/7

(Index.)

24/8/48

Next Paper.

E6729

(Minutes.)

Action taken. See E 6245.

H.B. 287

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Reference:-

FO 371/61876

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Dear Bully,

Herewith two packets
of UNSCOP; one for
you and the other for
separately.

Ref Val tel 1500000
attached, can we advance
the NCG arrangements
to 24th July? Please
reply to me.

W H Harrison
15/7

Enter.

804 E
6713
15/7
23 JUL 1947

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Reference:-

FO 371/61876

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D. 14th July, 1947.
R. 14th " " 22.35 hrs.

No. 1330 Confidential.

Replies have now been received from Egypt, Iraq, Lebanon and Transjordan to the invitations sent by the Committee to each Arab State or community to give testimony at some place agreeable jointly to the Arab States.

I understand that the Egyptian Government has replied that they are prepared to send representatives to give testimony at such place as the Arab States may decide and that Iraq and Lebanon have also replied accepting the invitation, in words which seem to indicate that Beirut has been decided upon by the Arab States as the meeting place. Transjordan reply is reported to be to the effect that, since Transjordan is not a member of the United Nations, King Abdullah is not able to send representatives to meet the Committee outside Transjordan but reiterates the previous invitation to the Committee to visit Transjordan.

2. Committee is now making arrangements to leave Palestine on Sunday 20th July. Delegates and principal members of the secretariat will go to Beirut on that day until 23rd July, return to Lydda for the night of 23rd July and leave finally for Geneva on 24th July. Main body of secretariat will leave Palestine by air for Geneva on 20th July: small advance and rear parties will depart on 17th July and 25th July respectively.

3. If you agree and seat can be obtained I shall leave Geneva by Swiss Air on 24th July.

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E

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1947

PALESTINE

E 6729

28 JUL 1947

Registry
Number

TELEGRAM FROM

No.

Dated

Received
in Registry

E6729/951/31

Mr Houston Bonnell

Beirut

Sbl.

24 July

26 July

U.N.S.C.O.P meeting in Beirut.

Message for C.O. on private
sessions of U.N.S.C.O.P held
on 23 July. Arab States answered
questions on Tuesday's joint
statement.

Last Paper.

E6719

References.

(Print.)

(How disposed of.)

(Action
completed.)

Rm 20/7

(Index.)

24/8/48

Next Paper.

E6730

32003 F.O.P.

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Reference:-

FO

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En Clair

6729

DEPARTMENTAL No. 2

FROM BEIRUT TO FOREIGN OFFICE

Mr. Houston Boswell
No. 561

D. 3.42 p.m. 24th July 1947.

24th July 1947.

R. 9.00 p.m. 24th July 1947.

TTTTT

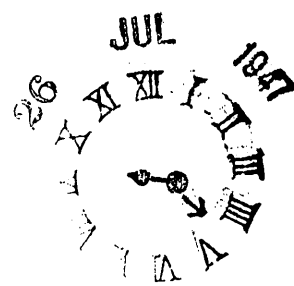
Following for Colonial Office from representative
of Palestine Government Information Office.

[Begins]

United Nations Committee on Palestine held two
private sessions yesterday when Arab Delegates answered
questions on Tuesday's joint statement outlining attitude
Arab States to Palestine problem. Chairman Committee
read text cable sent by King Abdullah of Transjordan
associating himself with Arab views embodied in joint
memorandum. Committee further listened lengthy statement
from Iraqi Foreign Minister elaborating memorandum Arab
States. Saudi Delegate Fuad Hamzich made also a brief
statement. Small party of Committee including Chairman
left to leave to see King Abdullah. Some Delegates
departed this morning for Geneva and rest leaving tomorrow.

[Ends].

[Copies sent to the Colonial Office].



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1947

PALESTINE

6730

23 JUL 1947

Registry Number } E6730/951/31.

TELEGRAM FROM
Mr Houston Bowwall

No. Beirut

Dated 25.8.

Received in Registry } 24 July.
26 July.

U.N.S.C.O.P meeting in Beirut.

Ref Beirut tel 550 (E6704/951/65).
Reports given of questions & answers at
secret session of U.N.S.C.O.P on
23rd July.

Last Paper.

E6729

(Minutes.)

References.

H.B. 28/7

(Print.)

(How disposed of.)

8) Mr Harrison C.O.
✓ 29 July.
(on E6749/951/31)(Action
completed.)

Ri 29/7

(Index.)

24/8/48

Next Paper.

E 6749

32008 F.O.P.

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(2)

(6) Q. Maintenance of law and order in independent Arab State.

A. A large force will not be needed provided there is firm handling.

(7) Q. Is an interim period contemplated before establishment of independent State?

A. A short period not exceeding one year would be adequate.

(8) Q. Is there anything to fear for Jewish communities in Arab States?

A. Injustice suffered by Arabs of Palestine reacts unfavourably on the position of Jewish communities in the Arab world.

(9) Q. How is security of Arab States threatened by establishment of a Jewish State?

A. It would lead to infiltration and constitute a bridgehead for aggression.

(10) Q. Would Arab States ever have recourse to undesirable measures?

A. Arab States would consider establishment of a Jewish State as a hostile act and would feel obliged to resist themselves by all means including violence.

In the course of the discussion Arab delegates stated they could not conceive of the Commission reaching a decision which would be incompatible with justice and the Charter of the United Nations, but if such a decision was reached, Arabs would consider that they had freedom of action.

(11) Q. Objections to various solutions proposed (bi-national federal State or partition).

A. Any further immigration or establishment of a Zionism bridgehead would not be compatible with Arab interests.

(12) Q. Holy places.

A. Arabs would be quite prepared to impose a status quo regarding freedom of worship.

Supplementary questions (covering Feisal Weisman agreement, Arab proposals at London Conference, Zionist encroachment in Transjordan and Lebanon, the Neg. gp. undec.] standard of living of the Arabs in Palestine) were submitted by the Indian delegate. Abdul Rahman being a Moslem was doubtless anxious to underline favourable points in the Arab case.

2. The session closed with a lengthy statement by
the ...

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the Iraqi Minister for Foreign Affairs. It contained nothing new and its rhetorical form probably did the Arabs more harm than good. A short statement was submitted by Fouad Hamza.

3. According to a member of the Commission the Arabs case has been as well presented as the Jewish case even if at considerably extra length. The Arabs appeared to be satisfied but there is little optimism about the outcome.

4. The Commission is splitting up on July 25th - some will proceed to Geneva and the others will proceed to Amman.

5. Arrangements made by Lebanese Government were excellent and the Commission was, I think, duly impressed. It is perhaps a pity that in spite of heavy official entertaining members got so little chance for private talks with Arab leaders.

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E 6749

23 JUL 1947

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Registry
Number

E 6749/951/31.

TELEGRAM FROM

Mr. Houston Bowdall

No.

Beirut

Dated

566

Received

25 July

in Registry

28

United Nations Special Commission on
Palestine.Ref Beirut tel 558 / E 6730/951/31.
Minister of Foreign Affairs is
more optimistic regarding outcome
of commission's visit.

Last Paper.

(E 6730.)

References.

(Minutes.)

Reprint, with ref, U
Mr. Mathison, C.O.

H.B. 28/7

(Print.)

(How disposed of.)

8) Mr. Mathison C.O.

✓ 29 July

(with E 6730 & E 6704)

(Action
completed.)

R. 29/7

(Index.)

24/8/48

Next Paper.

E 6755

32003 F.O.P.

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E 89

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D. 4.6 p.m. 25th July 1947.
R. 8.42 p.m. 25th July 1947.

Repeated to: Jerusalem
Bagdad

Jedda
Damascus Saving.

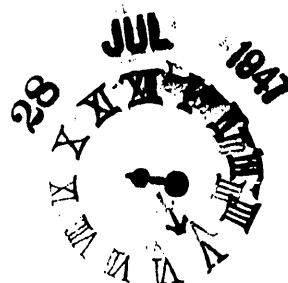
E 6749

23 JUL 1947

V V V

According to the Minister for Foreign Affairs he omitted the words "including violence".

2. As a result of the Commission's visit (which did great credit to the Lebanese Government) he is now rather more optimistic about the outcome.



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E 6755

PALESTINE

JUL 1947

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Registry
Number

TELEGRAM FROM

No.

Dated

Received
in Registry

E 6755/951/31

Mr. Clarke.
Jedda.

25.0.

25 July

28

Saudi Arabian Memo on Palestine.

Ref U.K. del N.York 6/1869 (E 6312/46/31)

Summaries memorandum on
Palestine delivered by YUSUF
YASSIN saying special committee
was appointed without Arab consent.

Last Paper.

E 6749

References.

(Print.)

(How disposed of.)

(Minutes.)

This proposal is obviously
unacceptable. We can wait for the full
text before deciding whether it need
be answered.

U.N. (Political) Dept.

H.B. 28/7

(Action
completed.)

R.I.S.

(Index.)

22/8/48

Next Paper.

E 6767

32003 F.O.P.

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Reference:-

FO

371/61876

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JUL 1947

Cypher/OTP.

WORLD ORGANISATION DISTRIBUTION.

FROM JEDDA TO FOREIGN OFFICE.

D. 4.00 p.m. 25th July, 1947.

R. 8.50 p.m. 25th July, 1947.

25th July, 1947.

Repeated to New York (U.K. Delegation)

Jerusalem,
Washington,
Cairo,
Bagdad,
Beirut,
Amman, Damascus.

Secret.

United Kingdom Delegation New York telegram 1869 to
you: Palestine.

Yusuf Yassin has handed to me long memorandum on Palestine of which translation will follow by bag.

2. Document states special committee on Palestine was appointed without the consent of the Arab States who reserved their liberty of action. The question was discussed at the meeting of Political Committee of the Arab League at Cairo on June 5th at which Palestine Arab representative [? grp. cmtd.] present. After reciting the reasons for boycott of the Committee by the Palestine Arabs and emphasising the determination of Arab States to resist Zionism at all costs, it states that peace in Middle East depends upon continuation of friendly relations between the Arab States and the Governments of Great Britain and United States of America. It then comes to the main point which is that Arab Governments wish to come to agreement with the Governments of Great Britain and the United States of America on basis of proposal which Saudi Arabian Government and other Arab States have submitted to the United Nations for termination of mandate and recognition of the independence of Palestine, before the subject comes up for discussion in the Assembly, for the purpose of co-operating in securing the Assembly's endorsement of the proposal. Failing a preliminary agreement of this nature, memorandum expresses the conviction that the result of deliberations in the Assembly will be unfavourable, and Palestine will become a permanent threat to peace in the Middle East, and an obstacle to friendly relations between Arab States on the one hand and Great Britain on the other. Memorandum concluded by asking for the support of the two friendly Governments to their request.

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Reference: **FO 371/61876**

<div style="text-align: center;">E</div>		<div style="text-align: center;">E 6767 93</div>
<div style="text-align: center;">ESTIM</div>		<div style="text-align: center;">JUL 1947</div>
<div style="text-align: center;">1947</div>		
Registry Number } E6767/951/31 FROM Board of Deputies No. of British Jews. Dated 25 July Received in Registry 28 July.		Statement submitted to U.N.S.C.O.P. Copy of statement submitted by Board of Deputies of British Jews to the United Nations Special Committee on Palestine.
Last Paper. E6755		<div style="text-align: center;">(Minutes.)</div> <div style="text-align: center;">Please acknowledge</div> <div style="text-align: right;">H.B. 307/7</div>
References.		
(Print.)		
(How disposed of.) Acknowledge Aug. 1947.		
<div style="display: flex; justify-content: space-between;"> <div> (Action completed.) 21/8 </div> <div> (Index.) 20/8/48 </div> </div>		
Next Paper. E6779		

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Reference: FO 371/61876

Telephone No: EUSon 3952-3

Telegrams: Deputies, Kincross, London

THE LONDON COMMITTEE OF DEPUTIES OF THE BRITISH JEWS
generally known as

The Board of Deputies of British Jews

President:
Professor S. BRODETSKY

Vice Presidents:
Dr. ISRAEL FELDMAN
BARNETT JANNER, M.P.

Treasurer:
B. B. LIEBERMAN

Solicitor:
CHAS. H. L. EMANUEL, M.A

Secretary:
A. G. BROTMAN

WOBURN HOUSE,
UPPER WOBURN PLACE,
LONDON, W.C.1

25th July, 1947.

The Secretary of State
for Foreign Affairs,
Foreign Office,
Whitehall, S. W. 1.

Sir,

I have the honour to send herewith, for
your attention, the Statement submitted
by the Board of Deputies of British Jews to the
United Nations Special Committee on Palestine.

I am, Sir,
Your obedient servant,

agostin

Secretary.

E 6767

12 JUL 1947

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Reference:-

FO 371/61876

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The Board of Deputies of British Jews

STATEMENT

Submitted to

The United Nations Special Committee
on Palestine

LONDON

Tammuz, 5707—July, 1947

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Reference:

FO 371/61876

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96

Statement to the

United Nations' Special Committee on Palestine

Submitted by

The Board of Deputies of British Jews

1. The Board of Deputies of British Jews, which is the democratically elected representative body of the Jews of Britain, begs to submit to the United Nations Special Committee on Palestine the following observations concerning the problem of Palestine.

2. Since its establishment in 1760, the Board of Deputies has on numerous occasions had to concern itself with the sufferings of Jews in many countries in which they were oppressed, persecuted, or discriminated against, and has often approached the British Government to exercise its influence in the direction of improving their position. These approaches were always received sympathetically, and Jews are grateful for the good done by British interventions. Governments of other countries too have within recent generations joined in these endeavours on behalf of Jews. Nevertheless, and in spite of international agreements such as at the Congress of Berlin, the Conference of London (1912) and the Peace Conference of Versailles, all guaranteeing equal rights and freedom to Jews and others, the persecution of Jews continued to increase, and in our own days reached its catastrophic climax with the annihilation of six million Jews in Europe, one third of the entire Jewish people, by mass torture and murder, planned and executed by Nazi Germany.

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Reference:-

FO 371/61876

5. The Balfour Declaration and the Mandate envisaged the establishment of a National Home for the Jewish People in Palestine by means of Jewish immigration settlement on the land, which leaders of the British and other Governments declared at the time, might eventually produce a Jewish majority in Palestine. The attainment of such a majority and the setting up of a completely free and democratic Government ensuring equal rights for all inhabitants, Jews and Arabs, would mean that the Jews in Palestine would have their homeland, would be able to govern themselves, pursue their own way of life and make their own decisions as to their future; in short they would have what is meant by a "Jewish State." The Board of Deputies is now convinced more than ever before that only through the establishment of a Jewish State is there any solution of the Jewish problem.

98

6. In spite of the exclusion of Trans-Jordan from the area in which the Jewish National Home was to be established, and the many setbacks to the fulfilment of the Mandate, especially the restrictions on immigration and on land settlement, due acknowledgment must be made for the opportunities of immigration afforded by Britain, particularly during the period 1932-36. During this period the Government's policy concerning Jewish immigration was at any rate based on the principle of economic absorptive capacity, with the result that there was a rapid increase in the Jewish population in Palestine, that many new land settlements were created, and that through the zeal and energy of the Jewish immigrants, great development took place in industry and in the medical, educational and social services, with benefits to all sections of the population, both Jews and Arabs.

7. Unfortunately the Mandatory Power neither maintained the principle of economic absorptive capacity, nor otherwise proceeded with the effective execution of the Mandate. The process of whittling down the obligations of the Mandate culminated in the White Paper of 1939, the intention of which was to end Jewish immigration, to restrict to only a tiny fraction of the country the right of Jews to buy or use land, and to convert Palestine into a state in which the proportion of Jews was not to be larger than one third of the total population. This was a violation of the Mandate and was so held to be by the Mandates Commission of the League of Nations.

8. The maintenance of the policy of the White Paper during the war deprived large numbers of Jews of opportunities of escape from the slaughterhouse which Nazi-occupied Europe had become for them. It was expected that after the emergency of war, progress would be resumed in the building up of the National Home. Nevertheless, the policy of the White Paper is still being strictly enforced. Land restrictions remain. Immigration is limited to a monthly quota of 1,500. Yet more than 200,000 of the Jewish survivors of the Nazi holocaust still languish, two years after Allied victory, as "displaced persons," in Germany and other parts of Europe, without a home and without prospect of finding one, faced with all the

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FO 371/61876

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hardships of the camps or other makeshift accommodation. 1,500 certificates a month can make but little impression on this problem. It is not unnatural that feelings of bitterness and frustration have been aroused among the "displaced persons" who are longing to get to Palestine, among the Jewish population in Palestine who are so eager to receive them, and among the Jews all over the world, who share the common sorrow. There is in addition the grave problem of those large numbers of Jews in European and other countries who, for various urgent and compelling reasons, wish to leave in search of security and freedom in Palestine. The strongest case therefore exists on humanitarian as well as on political grounds for a substantial increase in the permitted immigration to Palestine during the period which must elapse before a settlement regarding the future of Palestine has been reached and brought into effect.

9. The problem of Palestine cannot therefore be dealt with separately from the difficulties of the Jewish people and the Board desires to stress the vital necessity of the Jewish people in Palestine. The United Nations Committee will have observed the extraordinary development and progress achieved as a result of the enterprise, energy and devotion of the Jews who with the assistance of Jews all over the world have been able to make it their permanent home—an outstanding contribution to the prosperity of the Middle East. Self-rule is the logical and necessary development of the Jewish National Home. Such was the design of the statesmen who conceived it and gave it political expression, and any solution which would make the Jews a permanent minority in Palestine would be unjust and is unacceptable. That the Jews in Palestine are capable of self-government and of setting up a just administration, will be evident to the United Nations Committee from what it has seen and investigated in Palestine within recent weeks.

10. The setting up of a free and democratic Jewish State in which Arabs and all other inhabitants will be guaranteed equality before the law, and the enjoyment of civil, religious and political rights, in accordance with the principles

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Reference: -					
FO 371/61876					

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Tammuz, 5707—July, 1947

1947

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E 6779

10/

PALESTINE

JUL 1947

Registry } E6779/951/31.
Number }

TELEGRAM FROM

No.

Mr Pine Gordon.
Amman.

Dated

233

Received
in Registry

25 July

28 July

U.N.S.C.O.P delegation arrival at Amman.

Re: F.O. Tel 325 (E 6366 / 951 / 31)

Ref F.O. Tel 325 / E 6366 / 951 / 31.)
Reports arrival & entertainment
of U.N.S.C.O.P delegates in Amman.
After public session, P.M. answered
questions of delegates who left in
late afternoon.

Last Paper.

E 6767

(Minutes.)

Not very informative.

References.

copy f.o.

74.13. 307
17

(Print.)

(How disposed of.)

8) C.O. ~~July 31~~

(Action completed.)

(Index)

Next Paper.

(-6835)

32003 F.O.P.

FO 371/61876

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L 102

FROM AMMAN TO FOREIGN OFFICE

D. 1.15 a.m. 26th July, 1947

R. 1.45 a.m. 26th July, 1947

E 6779

JUL 1947

u u u u

Your telegram No. 325.

Reference:- **FO** 371/61876

377/61876

5. After public session the Prime Minister answered in private the questions of the delegates who left Amman by air in late afternoon.

[Copy sent to Middle East Secretariat].

1947

E

E 6835

29 JUL 1947

PALESTINE

Registry
Number

TELEGRAM FROM

R. Pine Garden

No.

Dated

Received

in Registry

E6835/951/31

236

28 July

29 July

Last Paper.

E 6779

References.

(Print.)

(How disposed of.)

8) C.O. ~~(How disposed of.)~~ July 31

(Action completed.)

(Index.)

Next Paper.

66845

Visit of U.N. S.C.O.R. to Amman.

Reps Amman tel. 233 (E6779/951/31)
Disappointed at King Abdullah who
failed to disclose his real views. but most
impressed with Prime Minister's public
statement which explained Arab case more
clearly than anything they had heard before.
Also sounded British officers of Arab Legion
about occupying Arab Palestine in event of partition.

(Minutes.)

Liquid \checkmark to C.O.

HB. 29/7

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Reference:-

FO 371/61876

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E 6835

29 JUL 1947

104

Mr. Pirie Gordon
No: 236

D. 7.15.p.m.28th July 1947

28th July 1947

R. 9.51.p.m.28th July 1947

Repeated to Beirut, Saving
Jerusalem

X:X:X:

My telegram No: 253.

visit. I have now gathered further details of Commission's

They express themselves as disappointed at the line of extreme discretion taken by King Abdulla who failed to give them any lead as to his real views but were most impressed with the Prime Minister's public statement which they said had explained the Arab case to them far more clearly than anything else they had previously heard.

The Chairman sounded certain British officers of the Arab Legion as to whether the Legion could be relied on to carry on occupying Arab parts of Palestine on behalf of Transjordan in the event of partition being recommended.

During recent session questions were put to the Prime Minister concerning the legal position of mandate under the Treaty of Lausanne what safeguards there would be for the Jews and the status of illegal immigrants in an independent Palestine with an Arab majority and how far the Arabs would meet by violence a decision unfavourable to their interests. Samir Pasha gave suitable answers as to the position of the Jews and suggested a constitution could be framed and guaranteed by the United Nations that gave the Jews all the necessary safeguards. He was noncommittal on the subject of possible violence.

[Copy sent to Middle East Secretariat].

[illegible]

87

E

105

E 6845

30 JUL 1947

1947

PALESTINE

Registry
Number

FROM

No.

Dated

Received
in Registry

E6845/951/31

Mr Trafford

Smith

Colonial Office

to Mr Bealey

28 July

30 July

Desire of U.N.S.C.O.P to see Sir A. Kirkbride

Mr SANDSTROM suggests that Sir A.
Kirkbride might go to Geneva to
meet U.N.S.C.O.P.

Last Paper.

E 6845

References.

(Print.)

(How disposed of.)

Sir A. Kirkbride
c/o Roman Bank
5 Aug.(Action
completed.)

(Index.)

G.E.M. 6/8

25/4/48

Next Paper.

E 6848

(Minutes.)

It was decided, at a meeting
held in the C.O. on Tuesday, that Sir A.
Kirkbride should be asked to stand by
9 submit a report.

H.B. Bealey 31/7

W.M. 31/7

In P.P. Sir A. Kirkbride tel to Mr Boxter 12/8

H.B. 13/8

In P.P. Sir A. Kirkbride, to Mr Boxter 18/8

22/8

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Reference:

FO 371/61876



Colonial Office,
Downing Street,
S.W. 1.

July 28, 1947.

E 6845

30 JUL 1947

Dra Harold,

Martin and I had a very useful discussion with MacGillivray this morning of which you will no doubt hear more: but one of the points of detail raised which it may perhaps be useful to put in writing is the following:

Sandstrom has apparently made clear to MacGillivray that he would have liked to have a general talk with Kirkbride if he had been available in Transjordan while the Committee was in Palestine. We do not know when Kirkbride's leave ends or where he now is, but it would be useful to have arrangements in hand either for him to return to Transjordan via Geneva, if the Committee are still there at the time of his return: or possibly for him to fly to Geneva either from here or from Transjordan for a brief talk with the Committee.

MacGillivray has made it clear that if an invitation to Kirkbride to meet the Committee is given, it must come from the whole Committee and not simply from the Chairman. The purpose of this letter is to enable any preliminary staff work to be carried out, in case the invitation is received.

/Sandstrom

H. BEELEY, Esq., C.B.E.

Ends
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Reference:-
FO
371/61876

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107

Sandstrom apparently thought that Kirkbride ~~would~~ be in a position to give more complete information than the Committee already has, not merely on the Transjordan view, but on the Arab view and reactions in general.

RECEIVED IN C.B.

29 JUL 1947

SENT TO DEPT.

30/7

Trafford Smith

(Trafford Smith)

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Reference:-

FO 371/61876

NOTHING TO BE WRITTEN IN THIS MARGIN.

~~D/CIAW 31.7.47~~
Registry
No. *E6845/951/31*

Top Secret.
Secret.
Confidential.
Restricted.
Open.

Draft.

Sir A. Kirkbride,

*40 Attomans Bank,
20, Abchurch
Lane, E.C.*

FROM :

Mr Baxter.
C.O.

C.O. concur.

H-73 31/7

Wm 31/7

+0
OUT FILE

FOREIGN OFFICE,
S.W. 1

108
5 August, 1947.

Dear Kirkbride,

We have heard from MacGillivray, our Liaison Officer with the United Nations Committee on Palestine, that the Chairman of the Committee has expressed disappointment at not meeting you at Amman, where he had hoped to discuss with you not only the local attitude but also the general Arab aspect of the Committee's problems. MacGillivray, who has been here on a brief visit, tells us that the Chairman still hopes that it will be possible to see you during the Committee's stay in Geneva.

1/ MacGillivray has made it clear that if you are to be invited to go to Geneva, the invitation must come from the Committee as a whole and not from the Chairman personally. We did not know whether the Chairman will put his proposal to his colleagues, or whether, if he does, they will consider that they still have time to hear additional evidence. But I think you should know without delay that you may shortly receive an invitation to go to Geneva some time in August.

1/ Our view, and that of the Colonial Office, is that it would be ~~most~~ ^{very} desirable for the Committee to have an opportunity of drawing on your knowledge and experience. We ~~very much~~ hope, therefore, that you will accept the invitation if it is given. Perhaps you will

/let me know ...

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Reference: **FO** 371/61876

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let me know how to get in touch with
you quickly if the need should arise.

WMM-3/17

Yours sincerely

(Sgd.) C. W. Baxter.

109

NOTHING TO BE WRITTEN IN THIS MARGIN.

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OUT FILE

110

FOREIGN OFFICE. C.W.I.

5th August, 1947.

(E 6845/951/31)

Dear Kirkbride,

We have heard from MacGillivray, our Liaison Officer with the United Nations Committee on Palestine, that the Chairman of the Committee has expressed disappointment at not meeting you at Amman, where he had hoped to discuss with you not only the local attitude but also the general Arab aspect of the Committee's problems. MacGillivray, who has been here on a brief visit, tells us that the Chairman still hopes that it will be possible to see you during the Committee's stay in Geneva.

MacGillivray has made it clear that if you are to be invited to go to Geneva, the invitation must come from the Committee as a whole and not from the Chairman personally. We do not know whether the Chairman will put his proposal to his colleagues, or whether, if he does, they will consider that they still have time to hear additional evidence. But I think you should know without delay that you may shortly receive an invitation to go to Geneva some time in August.

Our view, and that of the Colonial Office, is that it would be very desirable for the Committee to have an opportunity of drawing on your knowledge and experience. We hope, therefore, that you will accept the invitation if it is given. Perhaps you will let me know how to get in touch with you quickly if the need should arise.

Yours sincerely

Sir Alec Kirkbride, C.M.G.,
c/o Ottoman Bank,
20, Abchurch Lane, E.C. (Sgd.) (C. W. Baxter)

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FO 371/61876

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Prefix. 6845-951 Time handed in. 9.25 Office of Origin and Service Instructions. E. Words. 111
No. 0028

From _____ To C.T.O.
By 267 5.5 LIVERPOOL T 21 WDS By 9 AUG 47

FOREIGN OFFICE LONDON = SW1 INDEXED

FOR BAXTER ADDRESS UNTIL 12 TH AUGUST '41 DERBY LANE
LIVERPOOL AFTERWARDS MANOR HOUSE OXEN PARK NR
ULVERSTON = KIRKBRIDE

12 TH 41 *oubtful words telephone "TELEGRAMS ENQUIRY" or call, with this form
at office of delivery. Other enquiries should be accompanied by this form, and, if possible, the envelope.

B or C
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Reference:-

FO 371 / 61876

<div style="text-align: center; font-size: 2em; font-weight: bold; margin-bottom: 10px;">E</div> <div style="text-align: center; font-weight: bold;">PALESTINE</div>	<div style="text-align: right; margin-bottom: 10px;">113</div> <div style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 5px; margin-bottom: 10px;"> E 6848 </div> <div style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 5px;"> 30 JUL 1947 </div>		
<div style="margin-bottom: 10px;"> Registry Number FROM <i>H. Martin</i> </div> <div style="margin-bottom: 10px;"> No. <i>9071- C.O. Wright</i> </div> <div style="margin-bottom: 10px;"> Dated <i>24 July</i> </div> <div> Received in Registry <i>30 July</i> </div>	<div style="margin-bottom: 10px;"> <i>U.N.S.C.O.P. in Trans Jordan</i> </div> <div> <i>Transmits copy of Mr. MacGillivray's report, an extract from letter from Chief Secretary in Jerusalem, on U.N.S.C.O.P. meeting in Trans Jordan.</i> </div>		
<div style="margin-bottom: 10px;"> Last Paper. E 6845 </div> <div> References. </div>	<div style="text-align: center; margin-bottom: 10px;"> (Minutes.) </div> <div style="text-align: right; margin-top: 10px;"> <i>H.B. 1/8</i> </div>		
<div style="margin-bottom: 10px;"> (Print.) </div> <div> (How disposed of.) </div>			
<table border="1" style="width: 100%; border-collapse: collapse;"> <tr> <td style="width: 50%; padding: 5px;"> (Action completed.) <i>M 2/5</i> </td> <td style="width: 50%; padding: 5px;"> (Index.) <i>25/8/48</i> </td> </tr> </table>	(Action completed.) <i>M 2/5</i>	(Index.) <i>25/8/48</i>	
(Action completed.) <i>M 2/5</i>	(Index.) <i>25/8/48</i>		
<div style="margin-bottom: 10px;"> Next Paper. E6901 </div>			

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Reference: **FO 371/61876**

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114E

30 JUL 1947
24th July 1947.

on July 1947.
Mr. Becker
~~Mr. [unclear]~~
Mr. [unclear] } for
Mr. [unclear] obs

257

1.17.17aRi

I was so delighted to discover
that you were succeeding Neville
Butler. It is the one bright spot
in our gloomy Palestine situation.

MICHAEL WRIGHT, ESQ., C.M.G.

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Reference:-

FO 371/61876

115

The Chairman did not leave Palestine yesterday under the impression that the passengers of the "President Warfield" were on their way to Cyprus. In a conversation with the Chief Secretary on Saturday evening he referred to their deportation to Cyprus and the Chief Secretary replied that he would not wish him to assume that they were in fact going to Cyprus and that there might be another destination. The Chairman took the point and merely said something to the effect that their precise destination was not his concern.

4. The Indian delegate and his alternates left on Saturday for Damascus on their way to Beirut. Their reason, or at least the ostensible reason, for going to Damascus was the natural one that, as Moslems, they wished to take advantage of their stay in the Middle East to pay a brief visit to this great centre of Islamic tradition.

5. Fabregat's farewell to Jerusalem was typical as the convoy of cars was about to leave the Kadimah House he got out of his car, raised his hat to the chamber-maids assembled on the roof and bid them a resonant "Shalom", a farewell which was heartily reciprocated with raucous cries of delight from the roof!

Yours ever,

(Sgd) D.C. MacGillivray.

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Reference:-

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371/61876

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116

EXTRACT FROM SIR H. GURNEY'S LETTER
TO MR. J. M. MARTIN DATED 20.7.47.

You may like to have this short (and I fear hurried) note on UNSCOP. There has been a very marked change of attitude on the part of all the members of the Committee (except Guatemala and Uruguay) during the past week or two, and when I talked to them yesterday for over two hours the atmosphere was very different from that of the first meeting. They thought that they would get away with my answering a few questions of which they had given notice, but I had to take the opportunity to get on the record a lot of other things that I had been storing up. Our "Green Paper" replying to some of the more wicked Jewish Agency evidence is fairly strong in places - and none the worse for that. But we have stuck to facts, and the airing of the truth, for a change, will repay.

unintelligible question which he read out (from a telegram from Belgrade). Having a long reply ready which I was anxious to give to another question which was not asked, I gave him that one and he expressed himself satisfied. The Guatemalan asked me whether the police state conditions, etc., in Palestine were not deplorable, to which I said that I did not think that any British Administration anywhere would require any advice on that point. The Chairman liked this and asked me to repeat it.

Sandstrom came round to my house and thanked me for our evidence and what we had done for them yesterday evening and gave me a fully frank account of his own views and difficulties. Having started as a federalist, he is now all for Partition. He can find a clear majority for this among the individuals on the Committee, but fears that some of them may be instructed by their Governments to follow a line contrary to their own conclusions. This is, of course, /a

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1	2	3	4	5	6

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SECRET AND PERSONAL

Chief Secretary's Office,
Jerusalem, 21st July, 1947.
My dear Martin,

The hearing of the Chief Secretary on the 19th July went off very well. The attitude adopted by the members was markedly more friendly than at the first meeting on the 16th June held shortly after they had arrived in Palestine and only Gránados put questions which obviously had some ulterior political motive other than the genuine desire to solve the local problem; he again challenged the legality of the Defence (Emergency) Regulations, questioned the value and propriety of the system of detention without trial, and tried, without success, to learn how many men there are in a division of British troops. The meeting lasted 2 1/2 hours and was largely devoted to the Chief Secretary's refuted a few of the many innuendos contained in the Jewish Agency's evidence. There were very few questions.

2. The Palestine Post's criticism of the "Political History of Palestine under British Administration" is contained in the enclosed cutting from the issue of the 20th July. It is pretty feeble and, coming from that direction, amounts to a tribute to the accuracy and objectivity of the memorandum.

3. On Friday the Chairman and the Yugoslav delegate visited the Jewish Agency's clearance camp for legal immigrants at Hadera and the infirmary for injured and sick illegal immigrants at Athlit. Also, in the afternoon, they witnessed the transhipment of the illegal immigrants from the "President Warfield" in Haifa harbour. The Chairman told me

J. M. Martin, Esq., C.B., C.V.O.,
The Colonial Office,
London.

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1	2	3	4	5	6

Reference: -

FO 371/61876

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118

me that he had listened to the "propaganda broadcast" from the ship at 7.30 that morning; that he fully sympathised with the deplorable and sad plight of "the pawns in the game", but was sickened by the use made of them by the Zionist propaganda machine. He asked whether the procedure adopted by the illegal immigrants on this occasion was normal and I told him, in reply, that, although last year resistance to boarding parties and even to the process of transshipment was usual, it was clear that the policy of Hagana in this regard had later been changed and in recent months there had been no resistance; the resistance shown on this occasion was a reversion to their previous policy. There is no doubt that the Chairman realised that the resistance and the propaganda surrounding its fatal consequences had probably been staged primarily for the Committee's benefit.

It was an excellent thing that he saw for himself British naval, military and police forces in the transshipment in Haifa Bay. He told the High Commissioner afterwards that he had seen a small Jewish boy of about ten years of age come down the gangway from the ship "President Warfield" carrying a heavy suitcase and crying; he was followed off the ship by a British soldier who had been injured and had blood upon him; the soldier took the boy's bag and carried it for him to the shore and said "Cheer up laddie; it won't be long before you're back here". The Chairman's comment on this incident was "Why don't the newspapermen put that in their reports?"

At his request the Y Committee, before leaving yesterday, granted an interview to a Mr. J. S. Grauer who was aboard the "President Warfield" and is reported to be an accredited correspondent of "The Churchman" and a member of the American Christian Palestine Committee. The enclosed cuttings from the Palestine Post of the 20th July and 21st July give an idea of the sort of stories he has been spreading since his arrival.

The

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a very obvious difficulty. The Czech and the Yugoslav are both, personally, most friendly and one might almost say pro-British but they won't be allowed to vote that way.

Sandstrom also told me that what had impressed him most at Haifa on Friday was a small boy coming off the Pres. Warfield crying and carrying a heavy suitcase, followed by a soldier wounded and covered with blood who took over the suitcase, patted him on the head and said 'Cheer up, it won't be long.' Why don't the American Press correspondents see these things?

The general security situation is clearly deteriorating on both sides. The departure of the Committee, the return of the Warfield immigrants, the despondency of the Jews and their expected anger at our showing up their evidence, the pending death sentences and possible fate of the two kidnapped men and the sequel and there are warnings of an Arab demonstration at the end of Ramadhan.

* * *

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84

E

E 6901

120

1947

PALESTINE

JUL 1947

Registry
Number

E 690. / 951 / 31.

FROM

U.K. Tel.

No.

New York.
82 / 20 / 47.

Dated

26 July

Received
in Registry

31 July.

Political History of Palestine.

Ref FO tel 2264 / E 6543 / 951 / 31

Suggests solution would be for
representative to refer to documents
as memorandum, already presented
to Special Committee.

Last Paper.

E 6848

References.

(Print.)

(How disposed of.)

Apt. A.K. 224
New York.
9 Aug.6/ P.O. (ref)
Krafft Smith
Aug 9Apt. A.K. 224
New York.
23 Aug(Action
completed)P.O.
6/6/48

(Index)

P.O.
26/6/48

Next Paper.

E 6907

(Minutes.)

Draft to New York.

H.B. 1/8
Approved by UN (P) Rep and sub

H.B. 2/8

b.v. 18/8

Reminders to New York.

H.B. 20/8

1	2	3	4	5	6
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121

Comp.

R. Trafford Smith, C.O.

23 Aug.

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FO 371/61876					



UNITED KINGDOM DELEGATION TO THE UNITED NATIONS
EMPIRE STATE BUILDING
NEW YORK 1, N. Y.

TELEPHONE:
LONGACRE 5-2070

REPLIES SHOULD BE ADDRESSED
P. O. Box 304
NEW YORK 1, N. Y.

E 6901

26th July, 1947

JUL 1947

E 6543/951/31

52/120/47

Dear Department,

May we refer to your telegram No. 2264 of 22nd July about H.M.G.'s Memorandum on the Political History of Palestine under British Administration?

We understand that this memorandum constitutes the account of H.M.G.'s administration of Palestine promised by Sir Alexander Cadogan in his letter to the Secretary-General of April 2nd (referred to in that telegram). However, we also understand that this memorandum has already been given to the Investigating Committee of the Special Committee will refer to it and perhaps quote from it. It may even include the memorandum as an annexe to the report. We cannot, therefore, lay it before the Assembly as though it were something new. If we were to present to the Assembly evidence already laid before the Committee, there is the danger (a) that it might fall flat, (b) that the other interested parties might feel equally entitled to lay before the Assembly the evidence which they gave to the Committee (and so waste the Assembly's time), and (c) that we might lay ourselves open to the charge that we were going over the head of the Special Investigating Committee.

You have no doubt considered these points. A possible solution would be for our Representative at the Assembly to refer to this document as a memorandum already presented to the Special Committee, if necessary drawing the attention of the Assembly to it in so far as the report of the Special Committee fails to do justice to it.

X If it is decided that, although we have already presented the "Memorandum on the Administration of Palestine" as evidence to the /Committee...

United Nations (Political) Department,
Foreign Office,
LONDON, S.W.1.

1	2	3	4	5	6

Reference: FO 371/61876

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/23

- 2 -

Committee, it is necessary to present it separately as an Assembly document, the technical question of printing and distribution arises. In our letter No. 236/3/47 of 10th July we said that we should need at least another 100 copies for the purposes of the General Assembly. We have since consulted the Secretariat on this point. It appears that if the memorandum is to have the status of a numbered Assembly document, more copies will be necessary. At the last Assembly the Secretariat was obliged to run off between 3,000 and 4,000 copies of all documents; this year they are going to do their best to cut this figure down, and they have themselves suggested that 500-1,000 copies might be sufficient. They point out, however, that the printing resources of the United Nations will be taxed to the extreme between now and the Assembly, and in view of the size of our document, the Secretariat would very much appreciate it if the Government printer at Jerusalem could arrange to run off the extra copies needed, since presumably he has the type set up for this purpose. The Secretariat will in any event have the task of preparing and reproducing translations into Russian and French.

The arrangements to be made will depend on whether or not the Investigating Committee decides to include the memorandum as an annexe to its report: but even if they so decide, the United Nations would probably be glad to obtain the assistance of the Government Printer at Jerusalem and to pay for his services.

In the meantime, we have acquired some of the 100 copies of the memorandum received at Washington. If you agree, we propose to send copies to the Secretary-General and the Security Council Delegations with our compliments, explaining that this is the official account of H.M.G.'s administration in Palestine which is to be presented to the Assembly, but which has already been given to the Special Commission to aid it in its task.

We are sending copies of this letter to H.M. High Commissioner at Jerusalem.

Yours ever,

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Reference:-

FO 371/61876

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Open.

Draft.

U.K. Delegation,
New York.

NOTHING TO BE WRITTEN IN THIS MARGIN.

3148 Wt. 26469/137 100m 9/46 (51) F.&S.

FOREIGN OFFICE.

1947.

RESTRICTED

Dear Delegation,

Please refer to your letter No. 52/120/47 of the 26th July, on the presentation to the General Assembly of the Memorandum entitled "The Political History of Palestine under British Administration".

This document was first promised in Sir Alexander Cadogan's letter to the Secretary General of the 2nd April. You will remember that Dr. Silver, when he spoke ~~for~~ ^{for} the Jewish Agency ~~for~~ ^{before} the First Committee on the 8th May, interpreted this passage in the letter as meaning that the document would be submitted to the next session of the Assembly, but would not previously be made available to the Special Committee. Sir Alexander Cadogan ~~in~~ ⁱⁿ ~~the~~ ^{letter} intervened in the discussion to correct this impression, and to make it clear that the Special Committee would be provided with the Memorandum/ (Minutes of 50th meeting of First Committee, Pages 21 and 32). It should therefore be clear to the members of the Assembly that we are not committed to producing any document exclusively for the use of the autumn session. In offering information to the Assembly, we in fact offered it to an organ of the United Nations, together with such of its dependent Committees (including the Special Committee on Palestine) as might require this information.

Furthermore/ it would be difficult, to say
the least, to produce a new and different
document on the same subject. And ~~after~~ ^{if} we did
so, should we not expose ourselves to the accusa-
tion/

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Reference:- **FO** 371/61876

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tion that we had withheld from the Special Committee material which we evidently - from our action in submitting it to the autumn Session of the Assembly - considered to be of value?

We must therefore accept the risk, to which attention is drawn in the second paragraph of your letter, that the Memorandum may fall flat. It is true that other interested parties may also present to the Assembly the evidence they have given to the Special Committee, but in any event, this could not be prevented, and there is no necessity for the Assembly to waste any time as a result of the distribution of printed evidence. We are not worried by the possible charge that we are going over the head of the Special Committee.

With regard to the production of extra copies, the Colonial Office are asking Jerusalem whether they can supply an additional 1,000, to be paid for by the United Nations. We understand that Jerusalem will agree, and should like to know definitely whether the Secretariat wish to place this order

Meanwhile, we agree that you should send copies to the Secretary General and the Security Council Delegations. We are ourselves sending the Memorandum to all Latin-American posts, and some of these copies may be given to Latin-American Governments.

We note that at the beginning of your fourth paragraph/ you ^{speak} of the Memorandum on the "Administration of Palestine." This is the title of the document submitted by the Government of Palestine, but we assume that you are referring throughout your letter to the Memorandum submitted by His Majesty's Government.

H/3 2/8

NOTHING TO BE WITTEN IN THIS MARGIN.

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OUT FILE

126

FOREIGN OFFICE. S.W.1.

(E 6901/951/31)

7th August, 1947

(RESTRICTED)

Dear Delegation,

Please refer to your letter No. 52/120/47 of the 26th July, on the presentation to the General Assembly of the Memorandum entitled "The Political History of Palestine under British Administration".

This document was first promised in Sir Alexander Cadogan's letter to the Secretary General of the 2nd April. You will remember that Dr. Silver, when he spoke for the Jewish Agency before the First Committee on the 8th May, interpreted this passage in the letter as meaning that the document would be submitted to the next session of the Assembly, but would not previously be made available to the Special Committee. Sir Alexander Cadogan later intervened in the discussion to correct this impression, and to make it clear that the Special Committee would be provided with the Memorandum (Minutes of 50th meeting of First Committee, Pages 21 and 32). It should therefore be clear to the members of the Assembly that we are not committed to producing any documents exclusively for the use of the autumn session. In offering information to the Assembly, we in fact together with such of its dependent Committees (including the Special Committee on Palestine) as might require this information.

Furthermore it would be difficult, to say the least, to produce a new and different document on the same subject. And if we did so, should we not expose ourselves to the accusation that we had withheld from the Special Committee material which we evidently - from our action in submitting it to the autumn session of the Assembly - considered to be of value?

We must therefore accept the risk, to which attention is drawn in the second paragraph of your letter, that the Memorandum may fall flat. It is true that other interested parties may also present to the Assembly the evidence they have given to the Special Committee, but in any event, this could not be prevented, and there is no necessity for the Assembly to waste any time as a result of the distribution of printed evidence. We are not worried by the possible charge that we are going over the head of the Special Committee.

With/...

United Kingdom Delegation to the United Nations,
New York.

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						FO 371/61876			

FO 371/61876

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371 61876

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3149 Wt. 26469/137 100m 9/46 (51) F.&S.

Registry
No. E6901/951/31

~~Top Secret~~
~~Secret~~
~~Confidential~~
~~Restricted~~
Open.

Draft. letter to
UK. Del. New
York

Copy C.O.
(Mr. Trafford
Smith)

21^a /28
23 Aug
Dear Delegation,
Please refer to the last
paragraph but two of our
letter no. E6901/951/31 of
the 9th August.

Are you yet in a position
to tell us, for the information
of the Palestine Government,
whether the Government wish
to order 1,000 additional
copies of "The Political History
of Palestine under British
Administration."

H.B. 20/8

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FO 371/61876

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129

23rd August, 1947.

(E 3901/951/31)

Dear Delegation,

Please refer to the last paragraph but two of our letter No. E 6901/951/31 of the 9th August.

Are you yet in a position to tell for the information of the Palestine Government, whether the Secretariat wish to order 1,000 additional copies of "The Political History of Palestine under British Administration?"

Yours ever,

EASTERN DEPARTMENT.

United Kingdom Delegation
to the United Nations,
New York.

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Reference:-

FO 371/61876

40

E

130

E. 6901

JUL 1947

PALESTINE

Registry
Number

FROM

No.

Dated

Received
in Registry

E6907/951/31

U.N.

document.

23 July.

31 July.

Documents for U.N.S.C.O.P.

Transmits copies of documentary
material in which has been
prepared for the use of U.N.S.C.O.P.

Last Paper.

E6901

References.

(Print.)

(How disposed of.)

apt. Stationery
Office

✓ 12 Aug (enc)

apt. A.K. Del
New York

OPEN. Sept 16.

(Action
completed.)

(Index.)

F CM/13/8

F CM/13/8

Next Paper.

E6974

(Minutes.)

This seems rather unnecessary.

Harmless to our permission
formally necessary? And if it is, can
it be given without the concurrence of
the U.S. Government?

H.B. 7/8

Library.

The maps in question were published by
the Stationery Office as an annex to a
Parliamentary Paper (cmd. 6808). Copyright
as regards Parliamentary Papers is vested in
the S.O. & in the circ. we must refer the
present request to that Dept.

C.H. Jones

7/8

Letter to S.O.

H.B. 9/8 P.T.O

Wt. 24772/717 17855 10/38 F.O.P.

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Reference:

FO 371/61876

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131

Mr. P.P. H. J. Welch, Stationery Office C.S./142 4/9.

Letter to New York.

H23-131/9

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Reference:- **FO** 371/61876

JUL 23 1960

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2

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BOX 1000, NEW YORK 1, N. Y., U. S. A.

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UNITED NATIONS



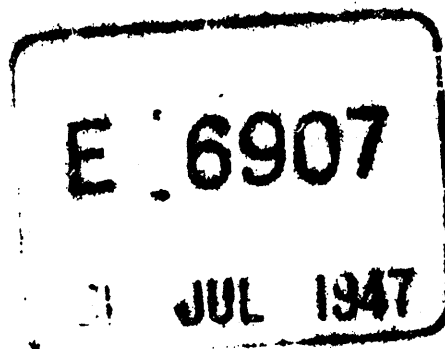
NATIONS UNIES

LAKE SUCCESS, NEW YORK • FIELDSTONE 7-1100

EXECUTIVE OFFICE OF THE SECRETARY-GENERAL

REFERENCE:

306-2-9/DZ



23 July 1947

The Acting Secretary-General of the United Nations presents his compliments to His Majesty's Principal Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs in the United Kingdom and has the honour to draw his attention to the following matter.

In the preparation of documents for the United Nations Special Committee on Palestine the Secretary-General took the liberty of reproducing, with certain purely technical modifications, five maps from the "Report of the Anglo-American Committee of Enquiry regarding the problems of European Jewry and Palestine", London 1946. In the great haste in which

The Right Honourable Ernest Bevin, M.P.,
His Majesty's Principal Secretary
of State for Foreign Affairs,
in the United Kingdom,
Foreign Office,
Downing Street,
London, S.W. 1,
England.

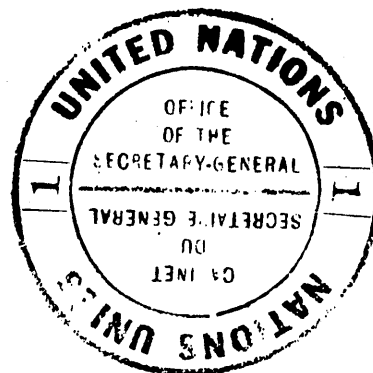
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..... The Acting Secretary-General therefore encloses copies of these publications, and has the honour formally to request permission to reproduce them as enclosures in United Nations documents.



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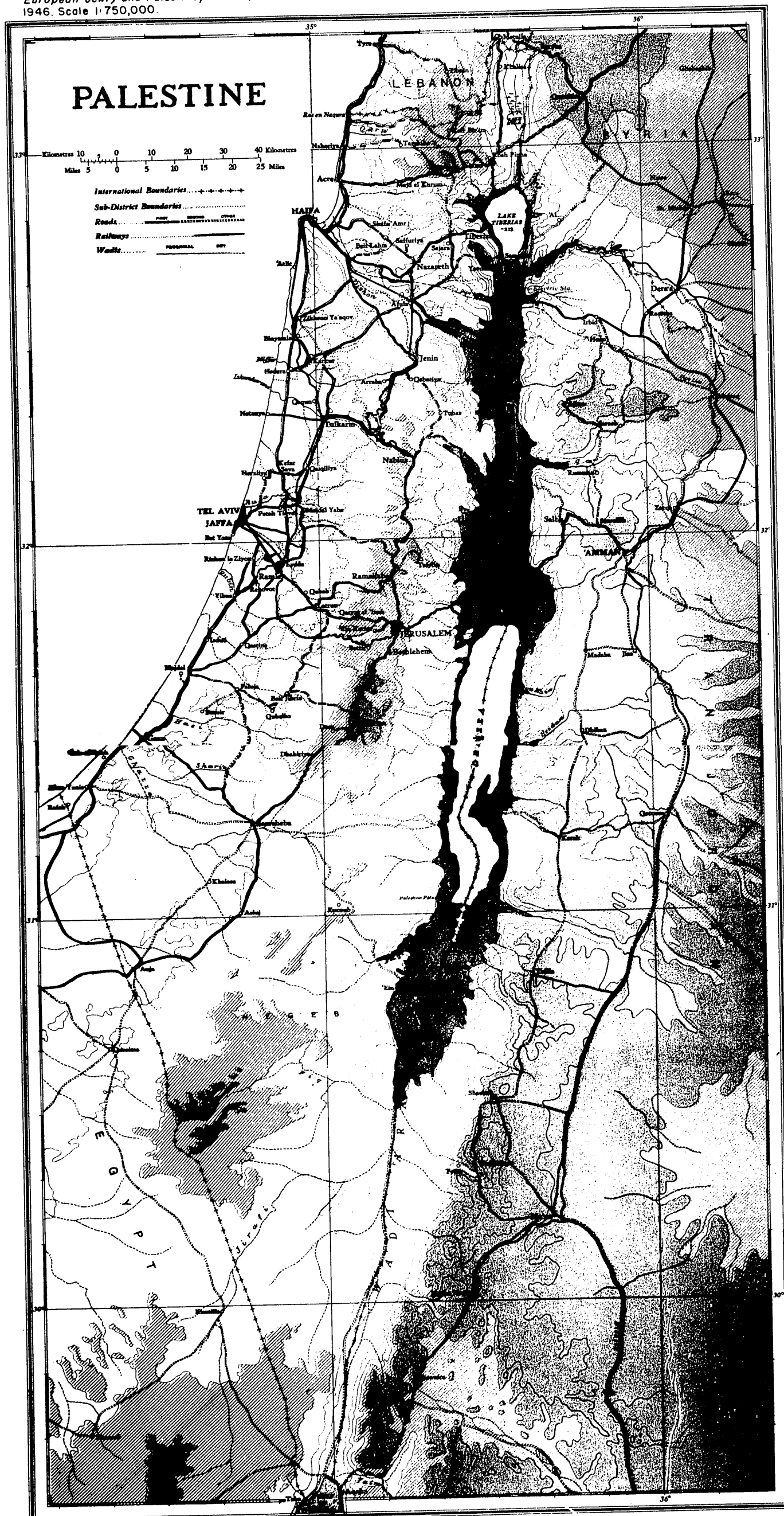
Reference:-

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Reproduced by United Nations from the
Report of the Anglo-American Committee
of Enquiry regarding the problems of
European Jewry and Palestine, London,
1946. Scale 1:750,000.

MAP No. 6

134



MAP No 46 UNITED NATIONS PRESENTATION No 387
MAY 1947

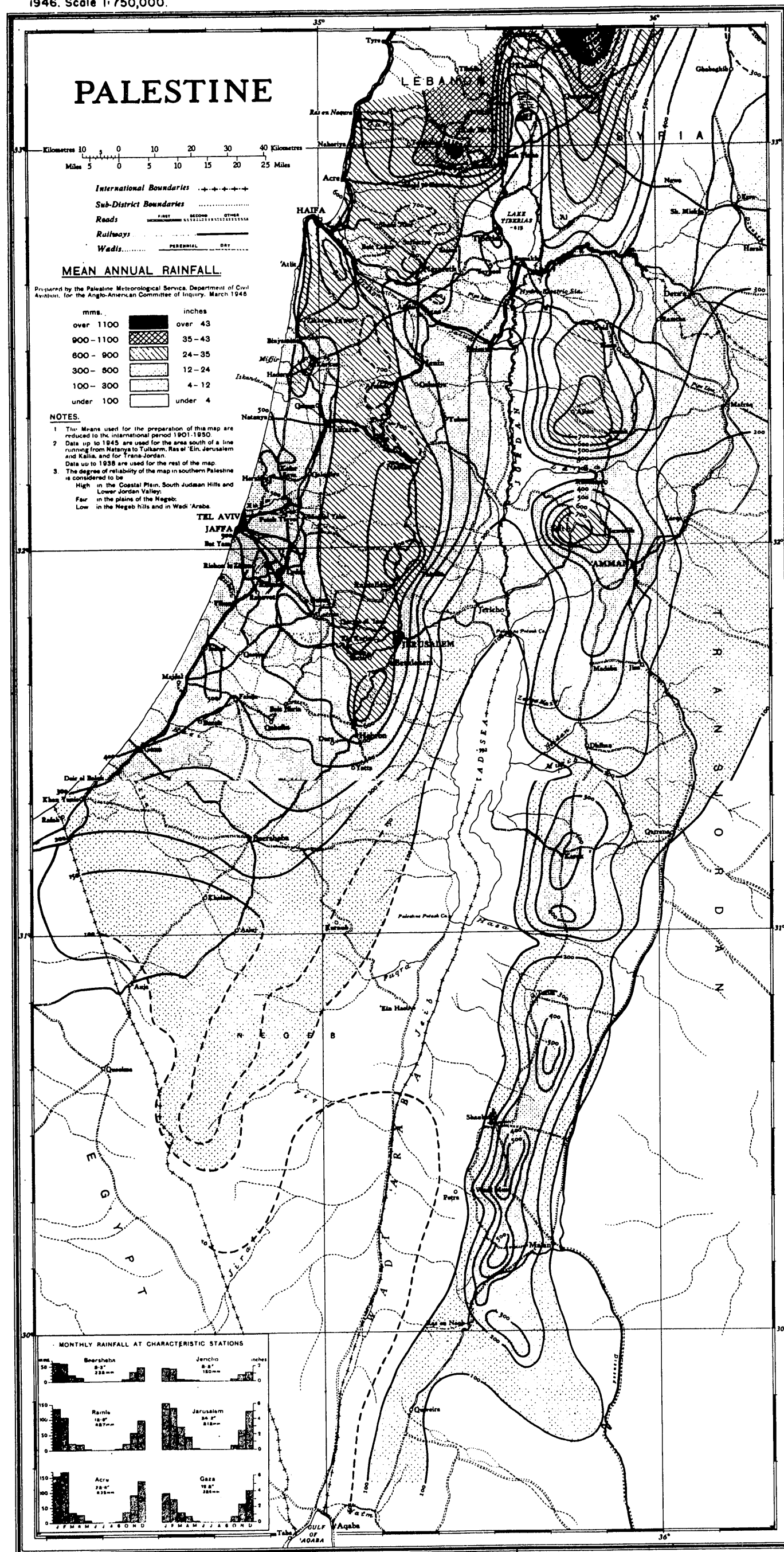
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European Jewry and Palestine, London,
1946. Scale 1:750,000.

MAP No. 7

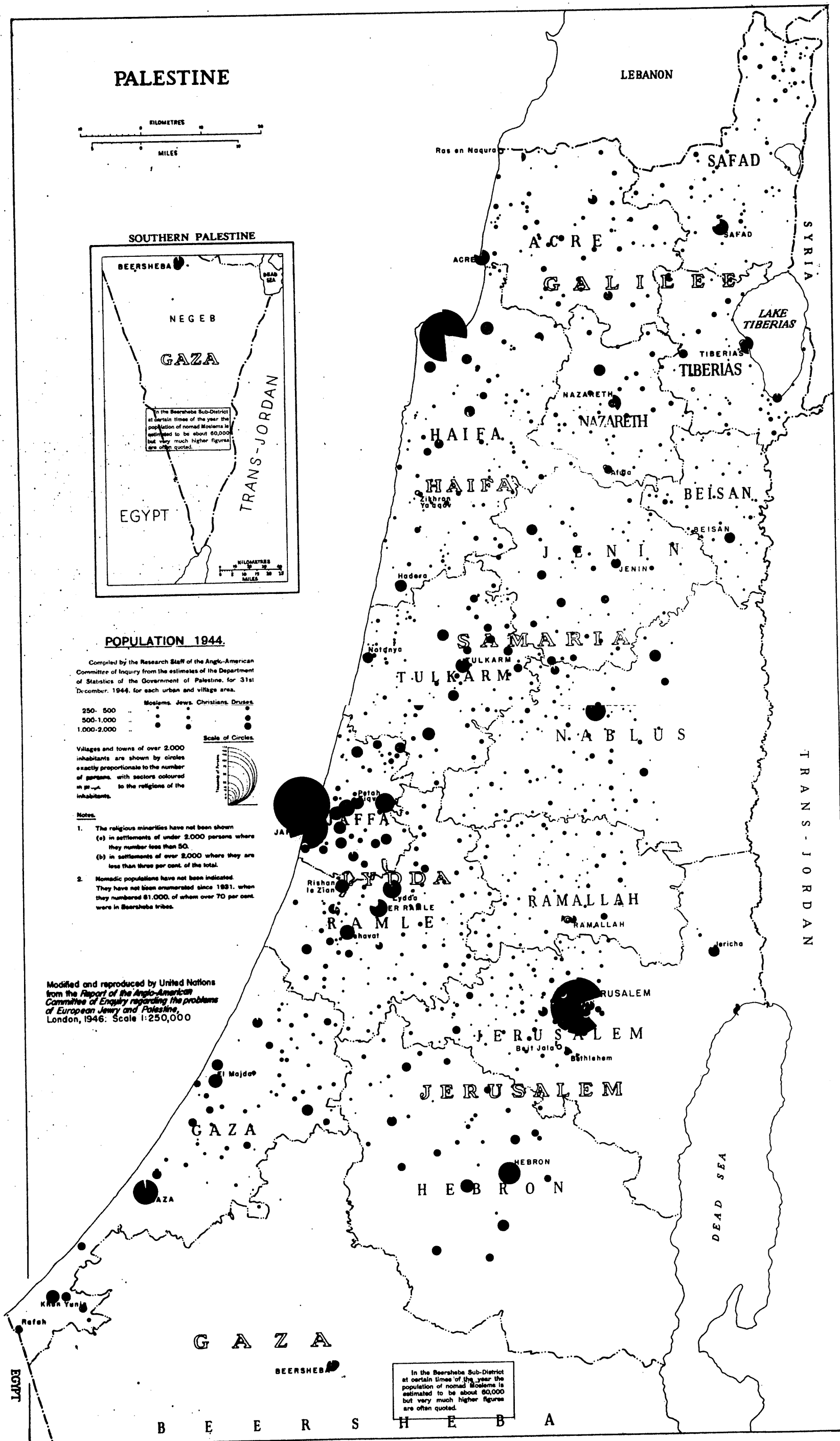


MAP No. 47 UNITED NATIONS PRESENTATION No. 388
MAY 1947

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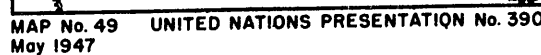
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Reference: **FO** 371/61876

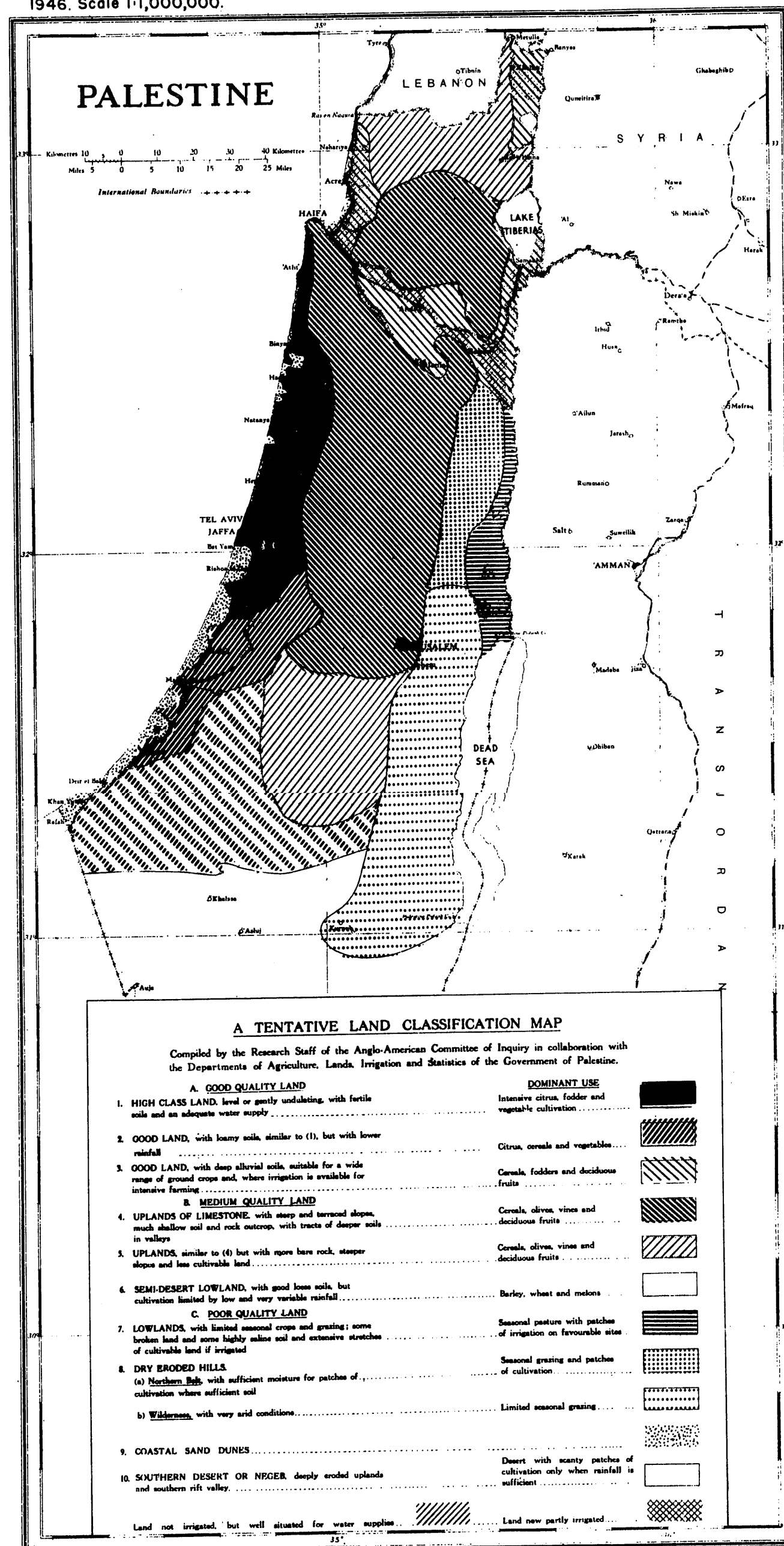


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European Jewry and Palestine, London,
1946. Scale 1:1,000,000.

MAP No. 10



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Printed by O.S. from reproduction material supplied by Survey of Palestine 1946.

MAP No. 50 UNITED NATIONS PRESENTATION No. 391
MAY 1947

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Registry
No. *E 6907/951/31*

Top Secret.
Secret.
Confidential.
Restricted.
Open *✓*

*Draft. letter to
the Controller,
Stationery
Office.*

OUT FILE

11a
139

Sir,

12 Aug

*I am etc... to
invite your attention to the
enclosed copy of a note from
the Acting Secretary-General of
the United Nations, ~~to the United~~
~~to~~ requesting formal permission
as enclosures to U.N. documents
to reproduce the maps contained
in Cmd. 6808. ~~as enclosures~~ As
the reproductions have already
been made and utilised, the
request is in reality for an
ex post facto consent. It is
/assumed*

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140

assumed that ^{there} is no objection
to this consent being given,
and I am to ask whether or not
you confirm this assumption.

H.B. 9/12

I am, etc.,

(Sgd.) C. W. Baxter.

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OUT FILE

141

E 6907/951/31

FOREIGN OFFICE,
S.W.1.

12th August, 1947.

Sir,

I am directed by Mr. Secretary Bevin to invite your attention to the enclosed copy of a note from the Acting Secretary-General of the United Nations, requesting formal permission to reproduce as enclosures to United Nations documents the maps contained in Cmd. 6808. As the reproductions have already been made and utilised, the request is in reality for an ex post facto consent. It is assumed that there is no objection to this consent confirm this assumption.

I am,
Sir,
Your obedient servant,

(Sgd.) C.W. Baxter.

The Controller
of His Majesty's Stationery Office.

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FO
371/61876

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THE CONTROLLER

Your Ref. E.6907/951/31

Your Ref. E.6907/951/31



142

2nd September 1947.

Sir,

With reference to Mr. Baxter's letter of the 12th August I have to acquaint you for the information of the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs that the Maps relating to the Report of the Anglo-American Committee of Enquiry regarding the problems of European Jewry and Palestine, Cmd. 5555, were printed from maps supplied by the Survey of Palestine.

The Colonial Office (Middle East Department) has however been consulted and it is understood that that Department takes no exception to the

The Under Secretary of State,
Foreign Office,
S.W.1.

/reproduction

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Reference:-

FO 371/61876

reproduction of these maps by the United Nations.

I am, Sir,

HGG Welch
for Controller.

143

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FO 371/61876

Registry
No. E 6907/951/31

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Restricted.
Open. *W*

Draft. *W*

U.K. Del.,
New York.

OUT FILE *10C*

Dear Delegation,

Please refer to the Acting
Secretary-General's note of the 23rd
July, requesting formal permission
(ex post facto) for the reproduction
of certain maps of Palestine.

As I am, General may be
informed that no exception is taken
to the reproduction of these maps
by the United Nations.

Yours was,

Eastern Dept.

13/7

15a 144

16/1/50

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3149 Wt. 26469/137 100m 9/46 (51) F.&S.

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Reference:-

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16th September, 1947. 145

Dear Delegation,

The Secretary-General may be informed that no exception is taken to the reproduction of these maps by the United Nations.

United Kingdom Delegation to the
United Nations,
New York.

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reference.

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92

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E 6991

1 AUG 1947

1947

Registry
Number

TELEGRAM FROM

No.

Dated

Received
in Registry

E-6991/957/31

V.K. del.

Geneva.

1162.

31 July

1 Aug.

Last Paper.

E6578

References.

(Print.)

(How disposed of.)

(Action
completed.)

(Index.)

Next Paper.

E 6997

H.M. G's representation to U.N.S.C.O.P.

Message for Mr. Martin. Does not
think that suggestion for representative
of H.M. G. to be heard by U.N.S.C.O.P.
will not be pursued further.
Reports decision to send sub-committee
to visit D.P. camps.

(Minutes.)

Para. 2. It will be difficult
for the members of the Committee to
make much progress with them if its
members away. This decision may
therefore delay the completion of their
report until after the 1st September.

U.N. (Ref.) 2/8

H. Beeley 1/8

Possibly - but even so the full
Committee would have more than a
fortnight in which to complete its
report, and very likely much of
the framework is already in preparation.

W. J. Carter 4/8

M. L. 4.8

D.T.O.

32003 F.O.P.

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1	2	3	4	5	6

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Reference: FO 371/61876

2nd P.P. B.O. 61 1720 1/8.

H.B. 11/8

147

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1	2	3	4	5	6
Reference:-					
FO 371/61876					

E 148

FROM GENEVA TO FOREIGN OFFICE.
(From United Kingdom Delegation)

D: 5.52 p.m. 31st July, 1947

R: 7.15 p.m. 31st July, 1947.

E 6991

1 AUG 1947

Following for Secretary of State for the Colonies.

Following for Martin from MacGillivray.

I saw Sandstrom this morning. He said that Rand had expressed view strongly that hearing of oral evidence from representative of Mandatory power was unnecessary; the Committee had therefore decided to postpone further discussion until my return in hope that I might be able to give indication of His Majesty's Government's attitude. I thereupon delivered the message contained in the note which you handed to me yesterday evening and left a copy of this note with the committee. Sandstrom said that it was he and Blom who had thought it would be appropriate to receive oral evidence from His Majesty's Government but that the others did not seem to feel very strongly about it. I therefore added, in amplification of the note but making it clear that this was for his personal information, that, while His Majesty's Government was very anxious to give every assistance, they were also anxious that no grounds should be given for suspicion that they were attempting to influence the committee in any direction and that a visit to Geneva by a Minister or other senior representative (unless strictly confined to a formal public hearing at which questions would be asked the answers to which could no doubt just as well be given in writing or maybe were already covered by His Majesty's Government's memorandum) might well give such grounds or be misrepresented to the public in some other sense. He replied that the committee themselves would be no less anxious to avoid any such rumours and that it might be best if, as suggested in the note, any information required from the Mandatory Power were to be obtained in writing through me. I then asked if the matter could be given consideration by the committee as soon as possible since the plans of Ministers were dependent on the decision reached.

Aie

1 2 3 4 5 6

1 2

Reference: **FO** 371/61876

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He replied that he did not wish to call a special meeting to discuss this matter but that I could take it that, in view of what I had said, it was very unlikely that the committee would wish to pursue the proposal that a senior representative of His Majesty's Government should come to Geneva. In the face of this statement I did not feel able to press him further to convene committee immediately. Since he himself appears to have been principal protagonist in favour of oral evidence by His Majesty's Government (supported, I fancy, by Hoo [sic? Hood] who is ever ready to refer to the terms of reference) and since it would now seem that he has appreciated that he could not, under such guise, achieve in Geneva his plan for "underground discussions" in complete secrecy and without rousing accusations of collaboration, it can, I believe, be assumed that suggestion will not be pursued further.

2. I understand that decision to send sub-committee to visit D.P. camps was taken after hearing evidence yesterday in private by representative of the I.R.O. (? Sommerfeld). Sandstrom told me that this representative had described Zionist propagandist methods in these camps and mentioned in particular an illustrated poster comparing the delights of Palestine with the rigours of the camps. Sandstrom went on to say that he considered principal purpose of visit by sub-committee would be to assess numbers who genuinely desired to go to Palestine. The Chairman of the sub-committee will be Hood, who had at the outset opposed the whole proposal to send a sub-committee on this visit but was subsequently persuaded by Sandstrom to lead the party. The sub-committee will consist of two other delegations (Granados and Fabregat) and most of the alternates. They will travel in one party. The visits are likely to be confined to camps in the American zone of Germany. The sub-committee expects arrangements will be made in time to enable them to leave Geneva early next week and to return here after eight days.

3. Please repeat to Palestine.

[Advance copies sent to Secretary of State for the Colonies].

1	2	3	4	5	6

Reference:

FO 371/61876

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OUTWARD TELEGRAM

6991/957/11.

Cypher (O.T.P.)

TO PALESTINE (Gen. Sir A. Cunningham)
FROM S. OF S. COLONIES.

Sent 1st August, 1947. 16.45 hrs.

IMMEDIATE

No. 1720 Secret.

Following from U.K. Delegation Geneva to Foreign Office No. 1162 of 31st July for Martin, Colonial Office from MacGillivray repeated Jerusalem. Begins.

I saw Sandstrom this morning. He said that Rand had expressed view strongly that hearing of oral evidence from representative of Mandatory Power was unnecessary; the Committee had therefore decided to postpone further discussion until my return in hope that I might be able to give indication of H.M. Government's attitude. I thereupon delivered the message contained in the note which you handed to me yesterday evening and left a copy of this note to the Committee. Sandstrom said that it was he and Bion who had thought it would be appropriate to receive oral evidence from H.M. Government but that the others did not seem to feel very strongly about it. I therefore added, in amplification of the note but making it clear that this was for his personal information, that while H.M. Government was very anxious to give every assistance, they were also anxious that no grounds should be given for suspicion that they were attempting to influence the Committee in any direction and that a visit to Geneva by a Minister or other senior representative (unless strictly confined to a formal public hearing at which questions would be asked the answers to which could no doubt just as well be given in writing or maybe were already covered by H.M. Government's memorandum) might well give such grounds or be misrepresented to the public in some other sense. He replied that the Committee themselves would be no less anxious to avoid any such rumours and that it might be best if, as suggested in the note, any information required from the Mandatory Power were to be obtained in writing through me. I then asked if the matter could be given consideration by the Committee as soon as possible since the plans of Ministers were dependent on the decision reached. He replied that he did not wish to call a special meeting to discuss this matter but that I could take it that, in view of what I had said, it was very unlikely that the Committee would wish to pursue the proposal that a senior representative of H.M. Government should come to Geneva. In the face of this statement I did not feel able to press him further to convene Committee immediately. Since he himself appears to have been principal protagonist in favour of oral evidence by H.M. Government (supported, I fancy, by Hoo who is ever ready to refer to the terms of reference) and since it would now seem that he has appreciated that he could not, under such guise, achieve in Geneva his plan for "underground discussions" in complete secrecy and without rousing accusations of collaboration, it can, I believe, be assured that suggestion will not be pursued further.

1	2	3	4	5	6

Reference: FO 371/61876

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2. I understand that decision to send Sub-Committee to visit D.P. camps was taken after hearing evidence yesterday in private by representative of the I.R.C. (? Sommerfeld). Sandstrom told me that this representative had described Zionist propagandist methods in these camps and mentioned in particular an illustrated poster comparing the delights of Palestine with the rigours of New York. Sandstrom went on to say that he considered principal purpose of visit by Sub-Committee would be to assess numbers who genuinely desired to go to Palestine. The Chairman of the Sub-Committee will be (?Hood), who had at the outset opposed the whole proposal to send a Sub-Committee on this visit but was subsequently persuaded by Sandstrom to lead the party. The Sub-Committee will consist of two other delegates (Granados and Fabregat) and most of the alternates. They will travel in one party. The visits are likely to be confined to camps in the American zone of Germany. The Sub-Committee expects arrangements will be made in time to enable them to leave Geneva early next week and to return here after eight days. Ends.

Circulated to:-

Secretary of State
 Sir T. Lloyd
 Mr. Ivor Thomas
 Sir G. Jaffes
 Mr. J.M. Martin
 Mr. Trafford Smith
 Mr. Mathieson
 Mr. Gutch
 Mr. Hignam
 Mr. Ian Watt
 Mr. Rogers
 Mr. Poynton
 Mr. Bennett

Mr. Wall
 Mr. Bigg
 Accounts Branch
 Mr. 3001
 Foreign Office - Mr. H. Beeley

1	2	3	4	5	6
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Reference:-

FO 371/61876

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E

152

1947

PALESTINE

E 6997

2 AUG 1947

Registry
Number

E6997/957/31

FROM

F.O. minute

No.

Dated

29 July

Received
in Registry

2 Aug.

Documents for U.N.S.C.O.P.

F.O. let to Wilson 7657 of 29 July,
instructing that State Dept be
asked for permission to give
report of two delegations of officials
of 26/7/46. called 'Palestine' statement
of position to U.N.S.C.O.P.

Last Paper.

E6991

References.

(Print.)

(How disposed of.)

Top Wilson 7657 29 July
c) c.o. ☒ Aug. 5

(Action
completed.)

E6997/957/31

(Index.)

25/8/47

Next Paper.

E6998

(Minutes.)

H13. 2/8

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Reference:

FO

371

61876

153
E
CONFIDENTIAL
Cypher/OTP

DEPARTMENTAL NO. 1.

FROM FOREIGN OFFICE TO WASHINGTON

No. 7657

29th July, 1947. D. 12.35 a.m. 30th July, 1947

0 0 0 0

IMPORTANT

United Nations Committee on Palestine.

The Committee have asked for the text of the proposal for provincial autonomy made by British and American officials last summer (the Brook-Brady proposal). They have been told that this cannot be given to them until the United States Government have been consulted.

2. We should like to give them the report of the two delegations of officials, dated the 26th July, 1946 and entitled "Palestine: Statement of Policy". We do not however propose to give them the appendices.

3. Please ask the State Department for their consent to this action. You will remember that the report leaked into the American press shortly after it was written, but we do not consider that this absolves us from consulting them.

4. It is of course not our intention that the document shall be published.

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FO 371/61876

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Registry
No. **E**

~~Top Secret~~
~~Secret~~
Confidential.
~~Restricted~~
~~Open~~

Draft. *tel. 15*

Washington

7657

July 29th

Byphur

Dybb. no. 1

C.O. concun.

by C.O.

Important

*United Nations Committee on
Palestine.*

E 699

2 AUG 1947

*The Committee have asked
for the text of the proposal
for provincial autonomy made by
British and American officials
last summer (the Brook-Grady
proposal). They have been told
that this cannot be given to them
without consulting the United States Government have
been consulted.*

*2. We should like to give
them the report of the two
delegations of officials, dated
the 26th July 1946 and
entitled "Palestine: Statement
/ of*

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1	2	3	4	5	6

Reference: -

FO

371/61876

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155
however
of Policy. We do not propose
to give them the appendices.

3. Please ask the State
Department for their consent
to this action. You will
remember that the report
leaked into the American
press shortly after it was
written, but we do not
consider that this obviates
us from consulting them.
~~the~~
government

4. It is of course not our
intention that the document
shall be published

H.B. 29/7

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Reference: **FO** 371/61876

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95

E

E 7005

2 AUG 1947

PALEST

1947

Registry Number } E7005/957/31.

TELEGRAM FROM

No. Manford.
New York.Dated 2063.Received in Registry } 1 Aug
2Visit of U.N.S.C.O.P. sub committee to
Germany & Austria.Extraction from letter from Acting Secretary
General of 1/8 regarding despatch
of U.N.S.C.O.P. sub-committee to Germany
& Austria. Requests instructions for
reply.

Last Paper.

E6958

References.

(Print.)

(How disposed of.)

Tel. New York. 2443
Aug. 2.Rptd Jerusalem
Berlin 2254
Vienna 1028
N.Y. 808(5)

G. B. O. ✓ Aug. 7

Tel. Geneva. 1340.

G. B. O. Aug. 7 P.T.O.

(Action
completed.)

G. B. O. 14/8

(Index)

25/8/48

Next Paper.

E 7036

(Minutes.)

Tel. 15 New York.

H.B. 2/8

G. B. O. 1737. 2/8

H.B. 15/8

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Reference:

FO 371/61876

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157

F.O.SS at
to Berlin & Vienna.
1463 1/402
Aug 2.

New York 2063

Rptd. 10

Vienna 1029

Berlin 2255

2 Aug.

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Reference: **FO** 371/61876

E 158

E 7005

Cypher/OTP

DEPARTMENTAL NO. 2.

FROM NEW YORK TO FOREIGN OFFICE

(From Permanent United Kingdom Representative to United Nations)

Mr. Lawford
No. 2063

D. 7.00 p.m. 1st August 1947
R. 2.00 a.m. 2nd August 1947

1st August 1947
Repeated to Jerusalem
Washington (Saving)

c c c c c c

IMMEDIATE

Palestine.

Following is substantive passage of letter (copies by bag) from Acting Secretary General. Dated August 1st.

[Begins]

The United Nations Special Committee on Palestine has decided to send a sub-Committee consisting of ten members to visit assembly centres in Germany and Austria. Seven members of the Secretariat will be attached to the sub-Committee, and it is likely that a number of accredited journalists will accompany the sub-Committee during its visit in those areas. In accordance with this decision of the Special Committee and with paragraph 8 of the General Assembly Resolution:

I have the honour to request that you communicate with your Government as soon as possible, in view of the intended visit of the sub-Committee early next week, and ask that the Military Commander of the British Zone in Germany and Austria be advised to afford full facilities to this sub-Committee during its work in that area.

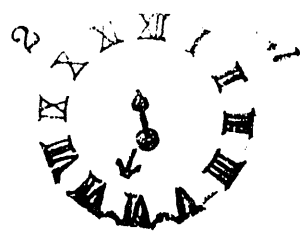
The names of the members of the sub-Committee, of the Secretariat and the accompanying journalists will be communicated directly to the Military Commander of the Zone.

[Ends]

2. Please advise how I should reply.

Foreign Office please pass to Jerusalem as my telegram No. 62.

[Copies sent to Telegraph Section, Colonial Office for retransmission].



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Reference:-
FO 371/61876

3149 Wt. 26469/137 100m 9/46 (51) F.&S. NOTHING TO BE WRITTEN IN THIS MARGIN.

Registry
No.

Top Secret.
Secret.
Confidential.
Restricted.
Open.

Draft. tel. 15

UK. Del.,

New York

2443

Aug. 2nd
Rept. 15

Jerusalem

Berlin 225H

Vienna 1028

Washington (Kaiser)
808 SAV

by phr

Depl. no. 1

by C.O.

Immediate

OUT FILE

Your telegram no. 2063 [of
1st August: Palestine]

Please inform the Acting
Secretary General that the
authorities in the British zones
of Germany have
been asked to
~~have with~~ afford all necessary
facilities to the sub-committee
of UNSCOP during its visit to
displaced persons centres.

HAB. 2/8

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1	2	3	4	5	6

Reference:-

FO

371/61876

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DEPARTMENTAL NO. 1

(To Permanent United Kingdom Representative to
United Nations)

D. 8.36 p.m. 2nd August, 1947.

2nd August, 1947.

Repeated to : Jerusalem
Berlin No. 2254
Vienna No. 1028
Washington No. 808 Saving

MOORE

Your telegram No. 2063 [of 1st August: Palestine].

Please inform the Acting Secretary General that the authorities in the British zones of Germany and Austria have been asked to afford all necessary facilities to the Sub-Committee of UNSCOP during its visit to displaced persons centres.

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Reference: **FO** 371 / 61876

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Registry
No.

Draft.

~~Top Secret.~~
~~Secret.~~
Confidential.
Restricted.
~~Open.~~

Telegram. *V.K. Del.*
No. *1340*
(Date) *Aug 2nd*
Repeat to :—
Jerusalem

~~En Clair.~~
~~Code.~~
Cypher.

Distribution :—

Depl. not

Copies to :—

C.O.

F. O.,

161

OUT FILE

Despatched

M.

Immediate

Your telegram no 1169 [of 1st
August: Palestine Committee]

Following for Mac Gillivray.

We have received the ^{Acting} Secretary-
General's request, made in
accordance with paragraph 8 of the
General Assembly resolution of the
15th May, for facilities in the
British zones of Germany and Austria.
He is being informed that facilities
will be granted, and the necessary
instructions have been sent to the
two zones.

2. Detailed arrangements
should be concerted directly between
1st

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Reference:—
FO 371/61876

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the sub-committee and the
authorities in the zones.

3. Please inform Hood of the
above.

H-13. 2/8

NOTHING TO BE WITTEN IN THIS MARGIN.

162

1	2	3	4	5	6
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FO 371/61876

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OUT FILE

Cypher/OTP
Restricted

DEPARTMENTAL NO. 1.

FROM FOREIGN OFFICE TO GENEVA
(To United Kingdom Delegation)

No. 1340.

D. 9.02 p.m. August 2nd, 1947.

August 2nd, 1947.

Repeated to Jerusalem

JJJ

IMMEDIATE

Your telegram No. 1169 [of 1st August: Palestine Committee].

Following for MacGillivray.

We have received the Acting Secretary-General's request, made in accordance with paragraph 8 of the General Assembly's resolution of the 15th May, for facilities in the British zones of Germany and Austria. He is being informed that facilities will be sent to the two zones.

2. Detailed arrangements should be concerted directly between the sub-committee and the authorities in the zones.

3. Please inform Hood of the above.

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1	2	3	4	5	6

Reference: **FO** 371/61876

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IPHER
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(necessary)

164
OUT FILE

OUTWARD TELEGRAM

(This telegram is of particular secrecy and should be retained by the authorised recipient and not passed on)

FROM FOREIGN OFFICE(GERMAN SECTION) TO BERLIN & VIENNA.

No.1463 Basic to BERLIN.
A/402 to VIENNA.

SECRET.

MOST IMMEDIATE.

2nd August, 1947.

D. 2.35 pm 2nd August 1947.

Repeated: Lubbecke)
Lemgo (PWDP)) - No.2140 Basic. MOST IMMEDIATE.
Geneva - U.K.Delegation(for MACGILLIVRAY)) ROUTINE.
New York - U.K.Delegation(for LAWFORD))

LIGHT. The United Nations Special Committee on PALESTINE has decided to send a sub-committee consisting of ten members to visit assembly centres of Jewish D.P's in Germany and Austria. Seven members of the Secretariat will be attached to the sub-committee and it is understood that about seven accredited journalists will accompany the sub-committee during its visit.

2. You are requested to afford full facilities to the sub-committee to enable it to carry out its work in your area. These facilities will probably include office and living accommodation, transport and interpretation.

3. The sub-committee will leave GENEVA early the week beginning 4th August. Their Itinerary will be MUNICH, VIENNA, BERLIN, BELSEN, GENEVA.

4. Chairman of sub-committee is Mr. HOOD (Australian Delegate) who is being asked to communicate dates of visit and further details as soon as they are known.

5. It is hoped to provide the sub-committee with a British plane for long-distance transport.

Originator: Mr.Iviny.

Distribution: Standard Travel Policy.
PS/Mr.Mayhew.
Mr.Gladwyn Jebb.
Mr.Boothby.
Mr.Beeley.
Mr.Patrick Dean.
Mr.Underwood (2 copies).
German Refugee Dept (6 copies).
Eastern Dept.
U.N.(Econ) Dept.

G/1224.
A/402.
63.

WJM/GSG.

1	2	3	4	5	6

Reference: FO 371/61876

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67005/957/31

OUTWARD TELEGRAM

8 AUG 1947

Cypher (O. T. P.)

INDEXED

TO PALESTINE (Gen. Sir A. Cunningham)

FROM S. OF S., COLONIES.

Sent 2nd August, 1947. 17.45 hrs.

IMMEDIATE

SECRET
No. 1737 Secret.

Following from Geneva to Foreign Office No. 1169
of 1st August for Martin Colonial Office from MacGillivray
repeated Jerusalem. Begins.

Hood's Sub-Committee decided this morning on following itinerary: Munich, Vienna, Berlin and Bergen-Belsen. Yesterday Hood telegraphed Lake Success requesting Secretary-General to notify British and American Governments of intended visit to camps and to ask that facilities may be granted. Hood also communicated direct with Sir Sholto Douglas and General Clay. Party will be accompanied by about seven journalists but not by representative of Jewish Agency to whom Sandstrom has indicated that their presence is not desired. Ends.

Circulated to :-

Secretary of State.
Sir T. Loyd.
Mr. I. Thomas.
Sir C. Jeffries.
Sir S. Caine.
Mr. Martin.
Mr. Trafford Smith.
Mr. Gutch.
Mr. Mathieson.
Mr. Higham.
Mr. I. Watt.
Mr. Rogers.
Mr. Poynton.
Mr. Bennett.
Miss Boyd.
Mr. Wall.
Mr. Bigg.
Accounts Branch.
Mr. Holding.
R. 301.
Foreign Office
War Office
Air Ministry

Mr. Beeley.
Private Secretary.
Private Secretary.

FO 371/61876

96

E

166

1947

E 7026

4 AUG 1947

PALESTINE

Registry
Number

TELEGRAM FROM

No.

Dated

Received
in Registry

E7026/957/31.

J.K. del Geneva.

1186

3 Aug.

4

United Nations Special Commission
on Palestine

Ref F.O. Lel 1339 (within).

U.N.S.C.O.P. hoped for R.A.F. plane,
I will not confirm Skyways
charter unless cost indicated

Last Paper.

E7005

References.

(Print.)

(How disposed of.)

ref Geneva 1339
2 Aug.

8/ C.O. Aug. 7

del Geneva.

135-1.

3 Aug.

6/ P.O. Aug. 7

(Action
completed.)

(Index.)

5/26/8.

20/8/48

Next Paper.

E 7033

32008 F.O.P.

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1	2	3	4	5	6

Reference:-

FO 371/61876

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E 7026

En Clair

4 AUG 1947 F I L E S.

FROM UNITED KINGDOM DELEGATION GENEVA
TO FOREIGN OFFICE.

No. 1185. D. 6.25 p.m. 2nd August, 1947.
2nd August, 1947. R. 8.12 p.m. 2nd August, 1947.

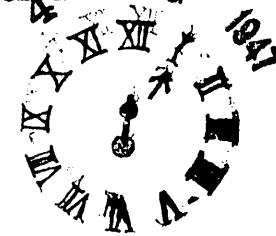
3 3 3

IMMEDIATE.

Your telegram No. 1339.

Following for Beeley.

U.N.S.C.O.P. had hoped for R.A.F. aircraft and
will not confirm Skyways charter until indication
given of probable cost.



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Secret.
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Draft. *tel.* 15

V.K. Del,
Geneva.

No 1339.

Date Aug: 2nd

Enclain

Appl. no. 1

by C.O.

OUT FILE

Date 2/8

168

Despatched

5321- M

Immediate

Following for MacGillivray
~~from Bradley.~~

skyways York (registration
mark G/AHF1) is now chartered
on behalf of UNSCOP.

2. ~~from~~ ^{at} ~~18.30~~ ^{18.30} G.M.T.
Geneva (Cointrin) at 18.30
on Monday the 4th August. The
Captain (Fraser, who was the
Prime Minister's pilot during the
war) should be met for informal
on arrival where he can contact
the Secretariat for discussion of
times and routes.

/3.

NOTHING TO BE WRITTEN IN THIS MARGIN.

3149 Wt. 26469/137 100m 9/46 (51) F.S.S.

1	2	3	4	5	6
1	2	3	4	5	6

Reference: FO 371/61876

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3. Skyways do not now need the York in London on the 6th.

4. Please ensure that accommodation is reserved on the night of ^{the 4th-5th} August for the crew of 6 males and 1 hostess.

W.D. 2/8

[Copy sent to ME Secretariat]

NOTHING TO BE WRITTEN IN THIS MARGIN.

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1	2	3	4	5	6
Reference:-					
FO 371/61876					

170
OUT FILE

En clair

DEPARTMENTAL No.1.

FROM FOREIGN OFFICE TO GENEVA

(To United Kingdom Delegation).

No: 1339 D. 5. 32 p.m. 2nd August, 1947.
2nd August, 1947.

11111

IMMEDIATE

Following for MacGillivray.

Skyways York (registration mark G/AHFI)
is now chartered on behalf of UNSCOP.

2. It will arrive at Geneva (Cointrin) at
18.30 G.M.T. on Monday the 4th August. The
Captain (Fraser, who was the Prime Minister's
pilot during the war) should be met on arrival
or informed where he can contact the Secretariat
for discussion of times and routes.

3. Skyways do not now need the York in
London on the 6th.

4. Please ensure that accommodation is reserved
on the night of the 4th-5th for the crew of 6 males and
1 hostess.

[Copy sent to Middle East Secretariat].

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Reference:-
FO 371/61876

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E 7026/457/31

4 AUG 1947

171

E

FILES

FROM GENEVA TO FOREIGN OFFICE
(From United Kingdom Delegation)

D.10.15 a.m. 3rd August, 1947

No.1186

3rd August, 1947.

R.11.25 a.m. 3rd August, 1947

E

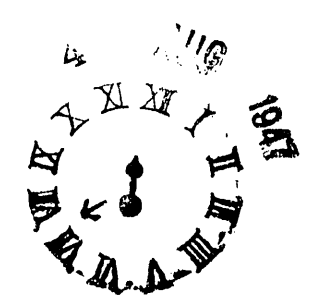
MOST IMMEDIATE

B B B

available please pass to Colonial Office for Martin.

U.N.S.C.O.P are very grateful to you for arrangements made on their behalf for Skyways charter but they are obliged to ask that charter be cancelled since visa facilities cannot be obtained in time from United States authorities and since they have no authority to incur heavy expenditure involved.

[Advance copy sent to Mr. Beeley]



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3149 Wt. 26469/137 100m 9/46 (51) F.&S. NOTHING TO BE WRITTEN IN THIS MARGIN.

Registry
No. E

Top Secret.
Secret.
Confidential.
Restricted.
Open.

Draft.

VR Del.
General

1351
Aug 324

For Chair

Dept no. 1

by C.O.

OUT FILE

Immediate

Your telegram no. 1186
Following for Mac Gillivray

Shyways charter cancelled.

H.B. 3/8

[Copy sent to n/e. Secretariat]

192

3/8

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173
OUT FILE

OUTWARD TELEGRAM

(E)

En Clair

DEPARTMENTAL No. 1.

FROM FOREIGN OFFICE TO UNITED KINGDOM DELEGATION
GENEVA.

No. 1351.

D. 7.47 p.m. 3rd August, 1947.

3rd August 1947

3 3 3

IMMEDIATE.

Your telegram No. 1186.

Following for MacGillivray.

Skyways charter cancelled.

[Copy sent to Middle East Secretariat].

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P.W.
174

*MX UPPER X CROSS ENOK XT X ON DOH XWK

7th August, 1947.

Copy to:
Under Secretary of State,
(for the attention of
Mr. Beeley),
Foreign Office,
Whitehall. S.W.1.

E 026 / 95 / 71

~~14 OCT 1947~~

10-10-68


We note that you will be contacting Messrs. Skyways Ltd., direct as to the list of passengers.

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Ch. Wharton



Copies to: Maj. Clark UNO London. & JF Watkins MCA.

97

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175

E 7033

PALESTINE

5 AUG 1947

Registry
Number

FROM

No.

Dated

Received
in Registry

E7033/957/31.

Legation
Beirut

114.

29 July
5 Aug

UNSCOP, mortgage held in Lebanon:

Refers to the 500, 500, and 500.

Mortgage receipt held by mortgage holder
in the Lebanon by UNSCOP, it has
the Arab State case.

Last Paper.

7026

References.

(Print.)

(How disposed of.)

8/ C.O. as per
minutes by
in Beirut.
✓ Aug 8(Action
completed.)

(Index.)

G.E. 1/6/48
20/8/48

Next Paper.

E 7143

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176

British.....Legation,.....
Beirut.

E 7033

29th July 1947 5 AUG 7 1947

Reference telegrams 550, 558 and 566 to Foreign Office.

Description of Enclosure.

Subject.

- A. Prime Minister's opening speech.
- B. French text of Arab statement.
- C. Arab States' answers to questions by Committee.
- D. Arab States answers to questions by Indian member of the Committee.
- (to F.O. only) E. Statement by Iraqi delegate.
- F. Questions by Committee to Arab States.

Cairo.
Damascus.
Bagdad.
Amman.
Jerusalem.
Jedda.

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34/210A/47

Le Soir 22nd July 1947

177

L'allocution du Président de Conseil RIAD EL SOLH

A l'ouverture de la séance, M. Riad Solh, Président du Conseil, a prononcé le discours suivant :

Messieurs,

Je suis particulièrement heureux de vous souhaiter la bienvenue dans ce pays au nom du Gouvernement libanais et des Gouvernements arabes, qui ont bien voulu que le Liban leur serve, une fois de plus, de lieu de rencontre.

Vous avez supporté sans doute beaucoup de peine pour venir jusqu'à nous enquêter au sujet d'un problème, très important certes, puisqu'il trouble et inquiète toute la partie sensible du Moyen-Orient, mais à la naissance duquel les peuples arabes n'ont pris aucune part. Nous sommes cependant convaincus que vos recherches aboutiront à des recommandations qui s'inspireront des principes de liberté et de justice sur lesquels sont fondés les rapports des Nations libres.

Le problème palestinien n'est pas facile à résoudre. En fait il est simple si l'on n'y cherche que le Droit et la Vérité.

Il y a d'abondants commentaires sur le bien-fondé de la cause arabe, d'innombrables écrits sur les prétentions sionistes. Les gouvernements arabes tiennent à souligner devant votre honorable Commission que les Arabes de Palestine

ne n'ont pas besoin d'échafauder des théories compliquées pour prouver leur droit : ils préfèrent s'adresser à votre conscience.

Il nous arrive parfois d'examiner le problème palestinien de haut et de loin, comme le ferait un gouvernement libre de toute attache avec la Palestine. Nous nous apercevons alors que nos principes démocratiques nous dictent le devoir d'appuyer les Arabes. Ces mêmes principes pour la sauvegarde desquels nous avons consentis de grands sacrifices nous obligeraient si nous étions arbitres dans un tel débat à attirer l'attention de votre honorable Commission sur le caractère théocratique et raciste de l'Etat que projette le sionisme en terre arabe.

Messieurs,

Le Liban est frère de la Palestine. Leurs destins dans l'histoire sont étroitement associés. En foulant notre sol vous aurez certainement l'occasion de renouer des liens glorieux et très riches d'un patrimoine qui a nourri la civilisation depuis des siècles, où la prééminence et l'excellence des valeurs spirituelles se trouvent être placées au premier plan des préoccupations de l'individu.

Vous trouverez les signes certains d'une renaissance nouvelle d'un peuple qui n'a retrouvé sa vraie vocation qui est de contribuer dans une large mesure à la Civilisation, au progrès et à la prospérité du monde, que lorsqu'il a pu se débarrasser des chaînes qui l'entravaient et qui étouffaient son véritable esprit.

Le Liban que vous verrez et qui ne doit rien à l'étranger, est le fruit ni du capital, ni de l'effort étranger mais du travail et de l'application de ses propres habitants qu'aucune distinction religieuse ne divise, toujours unis pour la sauvegarde de leur liberté et leur indépendance.

Le Liban n'est donc pas un Etat artificiel vivant d'une aide

artificielle, qui mourrait si cette aide venait un moment à s'arrêter.

Messieurs,

Les pays arabes ont vécu entre eux pendant des siècles dans un Etat de relations étroites et harmonieuses. Ils ne toléreront jamais la création sur leurs flancs d'un Etat artificiel dont l'unique but est de les désunir, de ruiner l'édifice de collaboration qu'ils ont établi ensemble.

C'est pourquoi, chaque Etat arabe se défend en défendant la Palestine, en luttant pour faire échec aux convoitises sionistes. Chaque Etat arabe combat pour la paix dans le Moyen Orient et dans le Monde en cherchant à supprimer à sa racine le foyer de trouble que représente un Etat artificiel sioniste.

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34/210A/47

178

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Le problème palestinien paraît dès l'abord compliqué et difficile à résoudre. En fait il est simple si l'on n'y cherchait que le Droit et la Vérité.

Il y a d'abondants commentaires sur le bien-fondé de la cause arabe, d'innombrables écrits sur les prétentions sionistes. Les gouvernements arabes tiennent à souligner devant votre honorable Commission que les Arabes de P. I. sti-

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En définitive, le droit à disposer de soi-même dont jouit et que devrait pouvoir exercer le peuple arabe de Palestine, a été constamment violé et ne cesse de l'être. Droit naturel pourtant, droit absolu, droit imprescriptible contre lequel ne sauraient prévaloir la force et le fait accompli, il consacre les revendications arabes et condamne les prétentions sionistes.

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Les Gouvernements arabes, qui voient dans les principes démocratiques sur lesquels a été fondée l'Organisation des Nations-Unies, le meilleur soutien de ce droit et sa plus forte garantie, en demandent l'application intégrale. Ils sont convaincus que la Commission d'enquête n'envisagera pas une solution violant ce droit et contrevenant aux principes des Nations-Unies.

II. — MENACES CONTRE LA PAIX DANS LE MOYEN-ORIENT

L'attitude des Gouvernements et des peuples arabes à l'égard du sionisme est commandée, en second lieu, par leur souci de conserver la paix dans le Moyen-Orient.

Cette paix est menacée par les visées expansionnistes et les méthodes terroristes du sionisme.

1. — A ses débuts, le mouvement sioniste se contentait d'un refuge en Palestine. Puis il réclama un foyer national. Lorsqu'il l'obtint, il s'appliqua à l'étendre jusqu'à en faire une sorte d'Etat au sein de l'Etat Palestinien, doté de ses institutions, de ses finances, de son économie et de son armée propres. Aujourd'hui, il vise à la création d'un Etat juif sur le territoire palestinien, voire d'un Etat englobant la totalité de la Palestine. Et avant même que de le réaliser, il convoite déjà de l'étendre aux dépens des Arabes voisins.

Dès la Conférence de la Paix en 1918, l'Organisation sioniste avait en effet, dans un mémoire daté du 3 février 1919, réclame officiellement toute la Transjordanie Liban jusqu'à Salda, Jisr mi-Karaon, Wadi-El-Tim, et le Harmoun. Et au cours des négociations qui eurent lieu, la même année, entre la France et la Grande-Bretagne, en leur qualité de mandataires sur les pays détachés de l'Empire ottoman la même Organisation demanda l'extension des frontières septentrionales de la Palestine jusqu'au Litani et aux plaines du Hauran et de Joulan en Syrie?

Ces visées territoriales ont été par la suite, publiquement soutenues. Tous les chefs responsables du sionisme, tous ses doctrinaires et ses publicistes n'ont cessé de proclamer que les frontières de la Palestine, telles qu'elles ont été tracées en 1919, sont les "frontières du mandat", que le sionisme refuse de les reconnaître, et que son but est de les élargir considérablement à l'avenir.

Tout récemment encore, M. Ben Gourion, à l'occasion des élections de la Histadruth à Haïfa, en 1944, a déclaré publiquement que les Juifs, qui se proposent de s'installer en Palestine même par la force, élargiront les frontières de ce pays sans aucune hésitation, l'Etat juif réclamé par le sionisme n'étant pas le but final de ce mouvement, mais une étape qui y conduit.

Et lorsqu'au début de 1946, le Gouvernement britannique fit savoir qu'il avait l'intention de reconnaître l'indépendance de la Transjordanie dans ses frontières actuelles, M. Shertock déclara à la presse le 23 janvier 1946, que l'Agence juive s'opposerait de toutes ses forces à la réalisation de ce projet, et que les Sionistes, qui ne s'étaient pas auparavant élevés contre le mandat sur la Transjordanie, ne pourraient néanmoins admettre que fût scellée la sécession de la Transjordanie et de la Palestine.

Cette déclaration d'un des chefs de l'Agence juive fut concrétisée par une note au Secrétaire d'Etat aux Colonies protestant contre la proclamation de l'indépendance transjordanienne, et soulignant que la Transjordanie, qui constitue une partie des territoires soumis au mandat britannique, ne saurait être considérée que comme la partie orientale de la Palestine.

Et les tenants du sionisme ne manquèrent pas de dévoiler devant votre honorable Commission les véritables intentions de leur Organisation au regard des frontières de la Palestine. C'est ce qui ressort de l'exposé de M. Shertock ainsi que de celui du rabbin Fishman rappelant que Dieu a promis aux Juifs un territoire s'étendant de la presqu'île de Sinai jusqu'à l'Euphrate.

2. — Mais le Sionisme ne se contente pas de faire appel pour l'exécution de ses projets expansionnistes aux dépens des pays arabes à de simples moyens de propagande. Son plan comporte le recours au terrorisme, tant en Palestine que dans les autres pays. On sait qu'une armée secrète a été formée dans le dessein de créer un état de tension et de trouble en attendant à la vie des représentants de l'autorité et détruisant les bâtiments et édifices publics. L'assassinat de Lord Moyne en Egypte, les attentats perpétrés contre l'Ambassade britannique à Rome, l'hôtel King David et le Cercle des officiers à Jérusalem, la prison de St. Jean d'Acre, les voies de communications terrestres et ferroviaires, et d'autres encore, sont autant d'exemples des méthodes de terreur instituées par les organisations sionistes, en vue de s'emparer, par la violence, d'un pays qui n'est pas le leur.

Cette attitude agressive née de la faiblesse manifestée par la Puissance mandataire à leur égard ne manquera pas de susciter à son tour la création par les Arabes d'organisations similaires. La responsabilité des troubles qui pourraient en résulter dans tout le Moyen-Orient incombera aux seules organisations sionistes, qui auront été les premières à utiliser ces procédés de violence.

Les Gouvernements arabes veulent espérer cependant que la situation des communautés juives dans leurs pays n'en sera pas affectée.

3. — Aucun Etat en effet ne saurait accepter que lui fût imposée une immigration massive comme celle dont est victime la Palestine. Des restrictions à l'immigration sont partout établies, inspirées des intérêts supérieurs du pays et des droits de ses habitants. C'est ainsi que le Gouvernement canadien vient de déclarer qu'il n'admettra sur ses vastes territoires que 5.000 réfugiés étrangers. Le Gouvernement australien a fait également savoir qu'il ne pourra tolérer que les réfugiés admis sur son territoire se groupent en colonies et qu'ils devront être répartis dans le pays en vue de leur assimilation. Des mesures de même ordre ont été prises en Norvège et dans de nombreux autres pays.

Votre honorable Commission s'es, certainement rendue compte que la situation en Palestine est des plus instables et contient en puissance des conflits suscepti-

bles de s'étendre à tout le Moyen-Orient. Les Gouvernements arabes ne peuvent y demeurer indifférents. La sécurité de leurs propres pays qui est en cause, leur donne le droit, bien plus, leur fait un devoir de résister au sionisme par tous les moyens en leur pouvoir.

Au surplus, le maintien du caractère arabe de la Palestine — lequel est le sien depuis des siècles — est une condition du développement harmonieux des peuples du Moyen-Orient et de leur collaboration à l'œuvre de paix et de progrès dans le monde.

La Palestine, pour des motifs d'ordre ethniques, culturels, politiques et économiques fait, en effet, partie intégrante de ce monde arabe qui s'est déjà organisé en Etats souverains liés par un pacte à caractère politique et économique, à savoir le Pacte du Caire du 22 mars 1945. Cette Organisation qui s'inscrit dans le cadre de la Charte des Nations-Unies répond aux vœux de celle-ci encourageant les organisations et les accords régionaux.

Toute fissure dans cet ensemble, toute scission entre les Etats qui le forment risque de le ruiner et de jeter le trouble et le désarroi dans cette partie particulièrement sensible du monde.

4. — L'Etat juif que les Sionistes s'efforcent d'établir en Palestine n'est d'ailleurs pas un Etat viable tant du point de vue politique que du point de vue économique.

Les Etats arabes ne sauraient en effet tolérer la création d'un Etat formé d'éléments étrangers amenés de toutes parts avec leurs mentalités particulières, leur convoitises insatiables au service ment des moyens de violence et de destruction tels que ceux auxquels il a été fait allusion.

A un Etat établi par la violence les Etats arabes seront obligés d'opposer la violence: c'est le droit légitime de tout être qui se défend.

D'autre part, l'Etat étranger projeté en territoire arabe ne pourra, en aucun cas, compter sur l'institution de rapports économiques ou de quelque ordre que ce soit avec les Etats arabes circonvoisins.

Un Etat créé dans ces conditions ne pourrait être qu'un Etat mort-né.

CONCLUSION

Les Gouvernements arabes espèrent fermement que la Commission tiendra compte des considérations sus-mentionnées, et s'efforcera de proposer une solution susceptible de mettre fin aux troubles actuels et d'assurer le triomphe de la justice et l'établissement de la paix à l'avenir. Ils sont persuadés que, pour arriver à cette fin, cette solution ne pourra qu'être inspirée des principes démocratiques sur lesquels a été fondée l'Organisation des Nations-Unies.

Le premier de ces principes commande de respecter l'indépendance des peuples et leur droit à disposer librement de leur propre sort.

Or, le peuple arabe de Palestine demande qu'avant toute autre chose son droit à la liberté et à l'indépendance souveraine lui soit reconnu. Les Gouvernements arabes sont unanimes à accorder leur appui sans réserve à la réalisation de ces revendications. Ils ont déjà présenté des propositions précises dans ce sens, et ils tiennent aujourd'hui à souligner de nouveau l'une de ces propositions, parce qu'ils y attachent la plus

grande importance, et qu'elle constitue une condition fondamentale qui ne peut être l'objet d'aucun compromis.

Cette proposition consiste en la nécessité d'arrêter immédiatement toute immigration juive en Palestine, de maintenir les règlements actuellement en vigueur sur le transfert des terres, et de former sans délai un Gouvernement arabe indépendant fondé sur des principes démocratiques.

Les Gouvernements arabes considèrent, d'autre part, que tout projet de partage, loin de résoudre le différend palestinien, ne fera que l'aggraver. Tout Etat juif créé en Palestine deviendrait inévitablement un foyer d'intrigues et un centre de ralliement de toutes les forces sionistes destinées à être lancées contre les pays arabes. Les Gouvernements arabes n'accepteront en aucun cas que le sionisme s'implante sous la forme d'un Etat autonome, et sur une terre arabe vers laquelle convergeraient des centaines de milliers d'immigrants étrangers.

Ils tiennent à proclamer leur certitude que le partage de la Palestine et la fondation d'un Etat juif n'auront pour conséquence que de déclencher des troubles sanglants dans le Moyen-Orient tout entier. Il a suffi qu'en 1937 la Commission royale d'enquête proposât le partage pour provoquer une révolution nationale qui dura jusqu'à la guerre. Du reste, étant donné les conditions géographiques, économiques et humaines du pays, aucun plan de partage ne peut être viable. Ce petit pays ne peut être divisé en deux ou trois Etats opposés les uns aux autres, et ne nourrissant des sentiments de suspicion et d'hostilité.

La seule solution à laquelle il soit possible de s'arrêter, et que les Gouvernements arabes considèrent comme susceptible de régler le différend, consisterait, ainsi qu'il a été indiqué dans le projet présenté par les délégations arabes à la Conférence de Londres sur la Palestine, au mois de septembre 1946, à former un Gouvernement libre à base de représentation proportionnelle, et à accorder à tous les Juifs ayant acquis la nationalité palestinienne par des voies légales, les mêmes droits que ceux reconnus aux citoyens arabes. Les Arabes, qui ont toujours estimé que les immigrants juifs établis en Palestine depuis le début du mandat, ne pouvaient être considérés comme des citoyens palestiniens, veulent prouver par ces propositions, l'esprit de conciliation qui les anime, et leur ardent désir d'aplanir les difficultés.

Ce règlement ne saurait avoir pour conséquence, ainsi que le prétendent certains chefs sionistes, que les citoyens juifs de Palestine ne jouissent pas de la plénitude de leurs droits du fait qu'ils demeureront à l'état de minorité. Les minorités juives se trouvant dans les pays arabes n'ont jamais été maltraitées. Elles vivent au contraire, en parfaite entente avec la majorité et jouissent des mêmes droits qu'elle. Depuis les temps les plus reculés de l'histoire, les Arabes n'ont jamais établi de discrimination entre les citoyens, à quelque race et à quelque religion qu'ils appartiennent. Ils ont toujours réservé aux communautés juives en particulier un traitement équitable basé sur les principes de la justice et de l'égalité. Bien loin de les opprimer, ils offraient re-

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Reference: FO 371/61876

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D'autre part, les Sionistes prétendent justifier leurs revendications en déclarant vouloir soutenir leurs coreligionnaires aux persécutions dont ils sont actuellement l'objet. Cependant, grâce à la victoire des démocraties, il n'existe plus aucun foyer d'antisémitisme à travers le monde. Les minorités ont recouvré la plénitude de leurs droits et les exercent partout en fait.

Les Gouvernements arabes ne sauraient clore cet exposé sans exprimer à nouveau l'espoir que votre honorable Commission, prenant en considération les vœux la seule solution juste du problème, savoir l'indépendance souveraine de la Palestine et l'arrêt immédiat de l'immigration qui risque d'en changer la face. Car toute solution ne tenant pas compte des conditions du milieu qui environne la Palestine, c'est-à-dire de l'attitude des peuples et des Gouvernements arabes, serait vouée à un échec certain. Bien plus, elle ne ferait qu'aggraver les dangers existants et serait pleine de menaces pour l'avenir.

Beyrouth, le 22 juillet 1947

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FO 371/51876

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34/210B/47

Le 23 July 1947

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Voici le texte du mémorandum présenté par les Gouvernements des Pays arabes à la Commission d'enquête des Nations-Unies sur la question de Palestine :

Les Gouvernements arabes, convaincus que le problème palestinien ne comporte qu'une seule solution, la cessation du mandat et l'indépendance de la Palestine, et que toute enquête sur un problème aussi clair est devenue superflue, ont tenu néanmoins à répondre avec empressement à l'invitation qui leur a été faite par votre honorable Commission issue de la plus haute autorité internationale que le monde ait jamais connue.

Ils sont persuadés que, soucieux d'assurer les conditions nécessaires à la coopération internationale de tous les peuples, vous adopterez, au résultat de votre enquête, des recommandations conformes aux principes de libre disposition et d'indépendance consacrés par la Charte des Nations-Unies.

Aussi bien les Gouvernements arabes n'ont-ils pas l'intention dans ce mémoire de dénombrer l'ensemble des raisons sur lesquelles s'appuie la cause de la Palestine. Ils se contenteront d'attirer l'attention de la Commission d'enquête sur deux points essentiels :

- 1.) Le droit de la Palestine de disposer d'elle-même.
- 2.) La nécessité de sauvegarder la paix dans le Moyen-Orient.

I. — LE DROIT DE LA PALESTINE DE DISPOSER D'ELLE-MÊME

Les Arabes formaient le 93% de la population palestinienne lorsque fut proclamée la "PROMESSE BALFOUR" prévoyant la création d'un foyer national juif et ouvrant les voies à l'immigration sioniste. Cette promesse qui ne peut en aucun cas être valablement opposée à la Palestine arabe, a ignoré avant, comme après sa proclamation, le droit que la Palestine avait de disposer d'elle-même. Par la suite, on voulut même contraindre les Arabes au silence et à la résignation. Mais loin d'éteindre leurs revendications, les contraintes qu'ils ont subies ont eu pour effet de les renforcer dans leur volonté de libération et dans leur foi en la justice de leur cause.

Leur lutte pour l'indépendance de leur pays et la sauvegarde de leurs droits remonte au début de ce siècle, lors du réveil national des peuples arabes soumis à la domination ottomane. Ils ont participé au mouvement de libération de ces peuples, ne ménageant ni les efforts ni les sacrifices. Révoltés avec les autres Arabes contre les Turcs, ils ont lutté aux côtés des Alliés sur tous les champs de bataille du Moyen-Orient, au Hedjaz, en Palestine, en Syrie, au Liban, en Irak.

Associés à la victoire des Alliés, en 1918, ils étaient en droit de jouir de la liberté pour laquelle ces mêmes Alliés avaient combattu. Mais la liberté pour laquelle ils aspiraient et pour laquelle ils avaient combattu leur fut déniée pour des considérations qui leur étaient étrangères. Se trouvaient brusquement en face des convoitises du sionisme et des engagements des Puissances à son égard, les Arabes de Palestine se trouvèrent contraints de reprendre, contre leurs propres alliés, la lutte qu'ils avaient menée contre l'Empire ottoman.

Les Alliés renièrent en effet les engagements qu'ils avaient pris vis-à-vis des Arabes au début de leur révolte pour l'indépendance, leur imposant un régime de mandat qui ne leur cède en rien à la colonisation. Et le mandat le plus rigoureux fut celui appliqué à la Palestine.

À tous les pays arabes, issus de l'ancien Empire ottoman, en dépit des promesses qui avaient été faites pendant les hostilités, fut dans le même temps, appliqué à la Palestine dans ses dispositions les plus sévères. Alors que les textes des mandats sur le Liban, la Syrie et l'Irak faisaient une obligation à la Puissance mandataire d'aider l'Etat sous mandat et de le conduire vers l'indépendance dont le principe avait été reconnu par l'article 22 du Pacte de la S.D.N., le texte du mandat sur la Palestine prévoyait la création d'un foyer national juif et ouvrait la porte à l'immigration des Juifs étrangers et à leur implantation dans le pays.

Le mandat a ainsi contribué à fausser le développement normal de la Palestine arabe et à détourner le cours naturel de son histoire. Pour retrouver leur liberté et leur indépendance perdues, les Arabes de Palestine se sont vu contraints non seulement de secouer le joug de la tutelle étrangère qui s'appesantissait sur eux, mais de lutter aussi contre l'envahissement d'une population étrangère qui prétendait vouloir les reléguer en définitive, dans leur propre pays, au rang de citoyens de seconde zone.

Cependant que le peuple d'Irak rejetait la lourde charge du mandat, que la Syrie et le Liban se libéraient de l'occupation étrangère et complétaient leur indépendance et leur souveraineté, la situation de la Palestine ne cessait d'empirer. Une véritable invasion d'immigrants sionistes déferlait sur la Terre-Sainte par vagues successives. La Libération nationale apparaissait ainsi comme un mirage.

Les malheurs de la Palestine ont leur origine dans deux actes sur lesquels s'appuient les Sionistes, bien que nuls et sans valeur : la PROMESSE BALFOUR et la CHARTE DU MANDAT.

Le Gouvernement britannique s'engagea en vertu du premier document à faciliter la création d'un foyer national juif, transgressant par là le principe de libre disposition et les règles du droit international. En effet, la Grande-Bretagne, lorsqu'elle donna cet engagement, n'avait aucun rapport juridique avec la Palestine, laquelle relevait alors de l'Empire ottoman. En outre, la Promesse Balfour viole les engagements que le Gouvernement britannique avait pris en faveur des Arabes dans les lettres échangées entre le Chérif Houssein et Sir Henri McMahon, lettres reconnaissant l'indépendance des Arabes dans les limites territoriales englobant la Palestine. Enfin, la Promesse Balfour contrevient à la déclaration faite en 1918 et proclamant que l'armée britannique entrerait en Palestine non en conquérante mais en libératrice.

Quant au Pacte du Mandat, il comporte les mêmes vices rédhibitoires que la Promesse Balfour. Il contrevient également à l'article 22 de la Charte de la Société des Nations. Tandis que cette Charte donne comme but au mandat l'intérêt des pays qui y sont soumis lui assigne l'obligation de les conduire vers l'indépendance, la Charte du Mandat sur la Palestine se propose de mettre le pays dans une situation politique, administrative et économique de nature à assurer la domination de la S.D.N. prévoit que les populations des pays sous mandat devront être consultées. Ce qui n'eut pas lieu pour la Palestine.

Cependant, la Commission américaine dite Commission King-Crane, qui fut envoyée en Palestine en 1919, a défini son point de vue à l'égard de la DECLARATION BALFOUR dans les termes suivants :

"La Promesse Balfour d'établir un foyer national pour le peuple juif ne veut pas dire qu'il faut faire de la Palestine un pays juif. On ne peut établir un Gouvernement juif sans frustrer les agglomérations non-juives en Palestine de leurs droits religieux et civiques. La vérité que la Commission a pu saisir par suite de ses conversations avec les représentants juifs est que les Sionistes prévoient le départ des habitants non-juifs, après l'achat de leurs terres. Exposer un peuple — dont tel est l'état d'âme — à une immigration juive illimitée, c'est attenter à ses droits et s'opposer aux principes pour lesquels les Alliés ont fait la guerre.

"La Conférence de la Paix ne doit pas perdre de vue que le sentiment d'aversion éprouvé en Palestine et Syrie vis-à-vis du sionisme atteint son paroxysme et il n'est pas aisé d'y passer outre. Tous les fonctionnaires anglais avec lesquels la Commission s'est entretenue estiment que le programme sioniste ne peut être appliqué que si l'on fait appel à une force armée d'au moins 50.000 soldats.

"Ces propos prouvent à quel point le programme sioniste est préjudiciable aux habitants non-juifs. Certes, il est parfois indispensable de recourir aux troupes armées en vue d'exécuter certaines décisions, mais il n'est pas raisonnable d'utiliser ces troupes pour exécuter des décisions iniques. Il ne faut pas oublier, d'autre part, que les revendications essentielles des Sionistes touchant leur droit en Palestine sont fondées sur le fait qu'ils habitaient ce pays il y a deux mille ans. C'est là un argument qui n'est pas digne d'être retenu.

"Il faut reconnaître que les habitants non-juifs de la Palestine — qui représentent les 9/10ème environ de la population totale — rejettent catégoriquement le programme sioniste, et les procès-verbaux prouvent que leur unanimité s'est faite, plus qu'à toute autre occasion, pour exprimer ce rejet. Ceux qui demandent que la Palestine devienne juive n'ont pas tenu compte des résultats qui peuvent en découler, ni du sentiment anti-sioniste qui se manifeste partout dans le monde, où l'on considère la Palestine comme une Terre-Sainte."

Les Sionistes cependant ne se sont pas déclarés satisfaits de la Promesse Balfour ni de la Charte du Mandat, malgré tout ce qui, dans celles-ci, porte atteinte aux droits sacrés des Arabes. Ils ont l'air d'être de leur ambiguïté à même de la Palestine arabe. La Grande-Bretagne a reconnu la situation anormale créée par les promesses contradictoires des Alliés faites aux Arabes et aux Juifs. Elle a reconnu également que la nécessité de remplir ses obligations en tant que puissance mandataire, se heurte aux droits des Arabes dans leur pays, d'une part, et aux promesses énoncées dans la Déclaration Balfour au profit des Juifs, d'autre part ; ce qui rend l'exercice du mandat pratiquement impossible. C'est pourquoi elle a soumis la question palestinienne à l'Organisation des Nations-Unies.

Voici en effet ce que M. Bevin a déclaré après l'échec de la dernière Conférence de Londres sur la Palestine, dans son discours de clôture :

"Nous expliquerons aux Nations-Unies qu'il a été démontré que le mandat était inamovible, et qu'il est impossible de concilier, pratiquement les engagements pris envers l'une et l'autre parties."

Il y a là la preuve que la Déclaration Balfour et la Charte du Mandat étaient choses anormales et ne pouvaient constituer une situation légitime acceptable ; que les Arabes sont en droit de les rejeter, et de considérer que toute interprétation de la teneur de l'une et de l'autre est contraire aux principes élémentaires de justice, et contient une menace pour ce qu'ils possèdent de plus cher, à savoir le droit à la vie.

En définitive, le droit à disposer de soi-même dont jouit et que devrait pouvoir exercer le peuple arabe de Palestine, a été constamment violé et ne cesse de l'être. Droit naturel pourtant, droit absolu, droit imprescriptible contre lequel ne sauraient prévaloir la force et le fait accompli, il consacre les revendications arabes et condamne les prétentions sionistes.

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II. — MENACES CONTRE LA PAIX DANS LE MOYEN-ORIENT

Cette paix est menacée par les visées expansionnistes et les méthodes terroristes du sionisme.

ment sioniste se contentait d'un refuge en Palestine. Puis il réclama un foyer national. Lorsqu'il l'obtint, il s'appliqua à l'étendre jusqu'à en faire une sorte d'Etat au sein de l'Etat Palestinien, doté de ses institutions, de ses finances, de son économie et de son armée propres. Aujourd'hui, il vise à la création d'un Etat juif sur le territoire palestinien, voire d'un Etat englobant la totalité de la Palestine. Et avant même que de le réaliser, il convoite déjà de l'étendre aux dépens des Arabes voisins.

Ces visées territoriales ont été par la suite, publiquement soutenues. Tous les chefs responsables du sionisme, tous ses doctrinaires et ses publicistes n'ont cessé de proclamer que les frontières de la Palestine, telles qu'elles ont été tracées en 1919, sont les "frontières du mandat", que le sionisme refuse de les reconnaître, et que son but est de les élargir considérablement à l'avenir.

Et lorsqu'au début de 1946, le Gouvernement britannique fit savoir qu'il avait l'intention de reconnaître l'indépendance de la Transjordanie dans ses frontières actuelles, M. Shertock déclara à la presse le 23 janvier 1946, que l'Agence juive s'opposerait de toutes ses forces à la réalisation de ce projet, et que les Sionistes, qui ne s'étaient pas auparavant élevés contre le mandat sur la Transjordanie, ne pourraient néanmoins admettre que fût scellée la sécession de la Transjordanie et de la Palestine.

Et les tenants du sionisme ne manqueraient pas de dévoiler devant votre honorable Commission les véritables intentions de leur Organisation au regard des frontières de la Palestine. C'est de qui ressort de l'exposé de M. Shertock ainsi que de celui du rabbin Fishman rappelant que Dieu a promis aux Juifs un territoire s'étendant de la presqu'île de Sinai jusqu'à l'Euphrate.

Cette attitude agressive née de la faiblesse manifestée par la Puissance mandataire à leur égard ne manquera pas de susciter à son tour la création par les Arabes d'organisations similaires. La responsabilité des troubles qui pourraient en résulter dans tout le Moyen-Orient incombera aux seules organisations sionistes, qui auront été les premières à utiliser ces procédés de violence.

3. — Au contraire, l'Etat en effet ne saurait accepter que lui fût imposée une immigration massive comme celle dont est victime la Palestine. Des restrictions à l'immigration sont partout établies, inspirées des intérêts supérieurs du pays et des droits de ses habitants. C'est ainsi que le Gouvernement canadien vient de déclarer qu'il n'admettra sur ses vastes territoires que 5.000 réfugiés étrangers. Le Gouvernement australien a fait également savoir qu'il ne pourra tolérer que les réfugiés admis sur son territoire se regroupent en colonies et qu'ils devront être répartis dans le pays en vue de leur assimilation. Des mesures de même ordre ont été prises en Norvège et dans de nombreux autres pays.

Votre honorable Commission s'est certainement rendue compte que la situation en Palestine est des plus instables et contient en puissance des conflits suscepti-

Au surplus, le maintien du caractère arabe de la Palestine — lequel est le sien depuis des siècles — est un condition du développement harmonieux des peuples du Moyen-Orient et de leur collaboration à l'œuvre de paix et de progrès dans le monde.

La Palestine, pour des motifs d'ordre ethniques, culturels, politiques et économiques fait, en effet, partie intégrante de ce monde arabe qui s'est déjà organisé en Etats souverains liés par un pacte à caractère politique et économique, à savoir le Pacte du Caire du 22 mars 1945. Cette Organisation qui s'inscrit dans le cadre de la Charte des Nations-Unies répond aux vœux de celle-ci encourageant les organisations et les accords régionaux.

Une telle fissure dans cet ensemble, toute scission entre les Etats qui le forment risque de le ruiner et de jeter le trouble et le désarroi dans cette partie particulièrement sensible du monde.

4. — L'Etat juif que les Sionistes s'efforcent d'établir en Palestine n'est d'ailleurs pas un Etat viable tant du point de vue politique que du point de vue économique.

Les Etats arabes ne sauraient en effet tolérer la création d'un Etat formé d'éléments étrangers amenés de toutes parts avec leurs voitiies insatiables au service desquelles ils mettent délibérément des moyens de violence et de destruction tels que ceux auxquels il a été fait allusion.

A un Etat établi par la violence les Etats arabes seront obligés d'opposer la violence: c'est le droit légitime de tout être qui se défend.

D'autre part, l'Etat étranger projeté en territoire arabe ne pourra, en aucun cas, compter sur l'institution de rapports économiques ou de quelque ordre que ce soit avec les Etats arabes circonvoisins.

Un Etat créé dans ces conditions ne pourrait être qu'un Etat mort-né.

Les Gouvernements arabes espèrent fermement que la Commission tiendra compte des considérations sus-mentionnées, et s'efforcera de proposer une solution susceptible de mettre fin aux troubles actuels et d'assurer le triomphe de la justice et l'établissement de la paix à l'avenir. Ils sont persuadés que, pour arriver à cette fin, cette solution ne pourra qu'être inspirée des principes démocratiques sur lesquels a été fondée l'Organisation des Nations Unies.

Le premier de ces principes commande de respecter l'indépendance des peuples et leur droit de disposer librement de leur propre sort.

Or, le peuple arabe de Palestine demande qu'avant toute autre chose son droit à la liberté et à l'indépendance souveraine lui soit reconnu. Les Gouvernements arabes sont unanimes à accorder leur appui sans réserve à la réalisation de ces revendications. Ils ont déjà présenté des propositions précises dans ce sens, et ils tiennent aujourd'hui à souligner de nouveau l'une de ces propositions parce qu'ils y attachent la plus

Cette proposition consiste en la nécessité d'arrêter immédiatement toute immigration juive en Palestine, de maintenir les règlements actuellement en vigueur sur le transfert des terres, et de

former sans délai un Gouvernement arabe indépendant fondé sur des principes démocratiques.

Les Gouvernements arabes considèrent, d'autre part, que tout projet de partage, loin de résoudre le différend palestinien, ne fera que l'aggraver. Tout Etat juif créé en Palestine deviendrait inévitablement un foyer d'intrigues et un centre de ralliement de toutes les forces sionistes destinées à être lancées contre le pays arabes. Les Gouvernements arabes n'accepteront en aucun cas que le sionisme s'implante sous la forme d'un Etat autonome, et sur une terre arabe vers laquelle convergeraient des centaines de milliers d'immigrants étrangers.

Ils tiennent à proclamer leur certitude que le partage de la Palestine et la fondation d'un Etat juif n'auraient pour conséquence que de déclencher des troubles sanglants dans le Moyen-Orient tout entier. Il a suffi qu'en 1937 la Commission royale d'enquête proposât le partage pour provoquer une révolution nationale le qui dura jusqu'à la guerre. D'ailleurs, étant donné les conditions géographiques, économiques et humaines du pays, aucun plan de partage ne peut être viable. C'est pourquoi deux ou trois Etats opposés les uns aux autres, et ne nourissant les uns, à l'égard des autres, que des sentiments de suspicion et d'hostilité.

La seule solution à laquelle soit possible de s'arrêter, et que les Gouvernements arabes considèrent comme susceptible de régler le différend, consisterait ainsi qu'il a été indiqué dans le projet présenté par les délégations arabes à la Conférence de Londres sur la Palestine, au mois de septembre 1946, à former un Gouvernement libre à base de représentation proportionnelle, et accordé à tous les Juifs ayant acquis la nationalité palestinienne par des voies légales, les mêmes droits que ceux reconnus aux citoyens arabes. Les Arabes, qui ont toujours estimé que les immigrants juifs établis en Palestine depuis le début du mandat, ne pouvaient être considérés comme des citoyens palestiniens, veulent prouver par ces propositions l'esprit de conciliation qui les anime, et leur ardent désir d'aplanir les difficultés.

Ce règlement ne saurait avoir pour conséquence, ainsi que l'ont prétendu certains chefs sionistes, que les citoyens juifs de Palestine ne jouissent pas de la plénitude de leurs droits du fait qu'ils demeureront à l'état de minorité. Les minorités juives se trouvant dans les pays arabes n'ont jamais été maltraitées. Elles vivent au contraire, en parfaite entente avec la majorité, jouissent des mêmes droits qu'elle. Depuis les temps les plus reculés de l'histoire, les Arabes n'ont jamais établi de discrimination entre les citoyens, à quelque race et à quelque religion qu'ils appartiennent. Ils ont toujours réservé aux communautés juives, en particulier un traitement équitable basé sur les principes de justice et de l'égalité. Bien loin de les opprimer, ils offraient r

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D'autre part, les Sionistes prétendent justifier leurs revendications en déclarant vouloir soustraire leurs coreligionnaires aux persécutions dont ils sont actuellement l'objet. Cependant, grâce à la victoire des démocraties, il n'existe plus aucun foyer d'antisémitisme à travers le monde. Les minorités ont recouvré la plénitude de leurs droits et les exercent partout en fait.

Les Gouvernements arabes ne sauraient clore cet exposé sans exprimer à nouveau l'espoir que cette honorable Commission, pré- qui y sont développées, adoptera la seule solution juste du problème, savoir l'indépendance souve- raine de la Palestine et l'arrêt immédiat de l'immigration qui risque d'en changer la face. Car toute solution ne tenant pas compte des conditions du milieu qui environne la Palestine, c'est- à-dire de l'attitude des peuples et des Gouvernements arabes, serait vouée à un échec certain. Bien plus, elle ne ferait qu'aggraver les dangers existants et serait pleine de menaces pour l'avenir.

Beyrouth, le 22 juillet 1947

Beyrouth, le 22 juillet 1947

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Statement by Iraqi delegate.

Mr. Chairman, Honorable Members of the United
Inquiry Committee on Palestine :

I have the honour on behalf of the Iraqi Govern-
ment to subscribe to all that has been included in the me-
morandum submitted by the Arab States and beg permission
to emphasize and to elaborate some of its points in this
additional statement. My statement consists of four
headings :

- (1) Arabs' rights and aspirations and the Palestine
Mandate
- (2) Zionist aims, claims, and methods
- (3) What is involved in the Palestine issue
- (4) Conclusions and proposals.

1 - Arab rights and Aspirations and the Palestine Mandate

Palestine is an integral part of the Arab world
and it is a vital part thereof. Geographically it is in
the heart of the Arab world. To travel on the usual nor-
mal routes from north to south or from east to west of the
Arab world one has to cross Palestine. Thus a traveller
to Egypt from Iraq, or Syria, or Lebanon, or a traveller
from Lebanon or Syria into Saudi Arabia and Hejaz for pil-
grimage passes through Palestine. Palestine is only the
southern part of the whole of natural and historical Syria.
Nationally the indigenous people of Palestine are one and
the same people as those of Syria and culturally and
nationally united with the rest of the Arab world.

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The Arabs joined the Allies in World War 1 under the leadership of His late Majesty King Hussein and his sons (of whom King Feisal the first, the founder of the modern state of Iraq, was one) and fought for the liberation and unity of the Arabs including the Arabs of Palestine. The Allies on their part made clear promises to the Arabs that they would support the Arabs in the attainment of their nationalistic aims, and they declared that their armies were coming to liberate and not to conquer the Arab lands and it was taken for granted that the Wilsonian principle of self-determination would be applied to the liberated territories including Palestine. Palestine was no exception to the areas which were promised freedom and independence. But even without these promises aren't the inhabitants of Palestine, like the rest of the Arab world, entitled to freedom and independence in their own home ? The Arabs of Palestine like the people of the rest of the Arab world, were hoping to attain their national aspirations. What was the result ? The result was a great frustration and disappointment towards the end of World War 1 for in 1917 the Balfour Declaration was issued promising the Jews a Jewish national home in Palestine without the knowledge or consent of the indigenous inhabitants of Palestine, a great violation of all moral and human rights and this is the root of all the trouble. When the declaration was made, one of three assumptions must have been made : either that Palestine was an empty country, a sort of non-man's land, or that the inhabitants of Palestine represented an enemy population whose territory could be colonized and exploited without recognizing their right to say anything. All and each of these assump-

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tions are wrong for Palestine is not a land without a people to be given to a people without a land. It has its own indigenous population, the inhabitants of Palestine. Many of its men took part in the Arab revolt and therefore they were entitled to their right to freedom and independence as friendly allies and not as enemies whose country could be disposed of without their knowledge or consent. Finally the people of Palestine, together with the people of the rest of the Arab World, are a people of great history and culture. They are not of the type to submit to foreign domination and colonization. The fact that some alien dreamers formed designs to come and occupy Palestine cannot be regarded but as a move of aggression and a violation of the principles of peace, justice and democracy.

Unfortunately the Balfour Declaration was included in a mandate designed by the League of Nations giving it an apparent international character but this was a glaring mistake of the League of Nations. It was a move by the League of Nations that led to the violation of world peace and stability in this part of the world for the last 30 years. The Mandate violated in general all the principles of democracy and self-determination which were contained in the Covenant of the League of Nations. In particular it violated the very spirit and letter of Paragraph 4, Article 22 of the League of Nations which reads as follows :-

" Certain communities formerly belonging to the Turkish Empire have reached a stage of development where their existence as independent nations can be provisionally

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recongized, subject to the rendering of administrative advice and assistance by a Mandatory until such time as they are able to stand alone. The wished of these communities was to be a principal consideration in the selection of a Mandatory."

This paragraph of article 22 of the Covenant clearly recognises the right of the Arabs of Palestine to independence and to the choice of the Mandatory power by the inhabitants. These rights the Mandate for Palestine ignored just as it ignored the real object of the Mandate, that of holding people as a trust with the object of the them toward self-government and independence and not with the object of withholding self-government and independence of the people with the object of imposing an alien body whose object is to dominate the country and establish a state therein. Thus we find that the Mandate over Palestine has no moral or legal foundations for the League of Nations has no legal or moral authority to violate the letter and spirit of its own Covenant.

Whas was the result ? As it was to be expected the Arabs from the very beginning never recognized the legality or the validity of the Mandate over Palestine. The day of the Balfour Declaration is a day of strikes and demonstrations every year throughout the Arab world. The Arabs of Palestine never stopped to resist or to protest against theimposition of the terms of the Mandate. Palestine turned into a land of struggles, strife and bloodshed instead of being a land of peace and harmony and very naturally so, for no self-respecting people in the world can permit in any circumstances aliens to be introduced into their country by force and with the intention of

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dominating it while they have no say in the destiny of their own country.

The Arabs of Palestine resisted and revolted on several occasions in self-defence and the situation today is no better than what it was 30 years ago. The Arabs today, not only in Palestine but throughout the Arab world, are in a state of tension over the issue of Palestine.

They all are convinced that it is not right or just that the Arabs of Palestine should have been deprived of their rights to self-government and self-determination. It is not right that the independence of the country should have been withheld while surrounding Arab states like Iraq, Syria, Lebanon, and Transjordan who were in the same category as Palestine and which were all integral parts of the Ottoman Empire have attained their independence. The Arabs of Palestine are as well developed as the Arabs of these states which have achieved independence. The wishes of the inhabitants of Palestine for independence and their rejection of Zionist penetration were formally expressed to the King-Crane Commission appointed by the late President Wilson as early as 1919.

We in Iraq are directly concerned with the problem of Palestine not only because we are bound with the Arabs of Palestine by all the bonds that go to make one nation but also because Palestine is so situated geographically as to be of vital importance to Iraq economically and strategically. Besides we have about 150 thousand Jews in Iraq whose interest and welfare is bound with the interest and welfare of our country as a whole. In Iraq Moslems, Christians, and Jews have lived happily together

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for centuries. Zionism, however, may poison the atmosphere of harmony between Iraqi Jews and their non-Jewish brethren, and we have to see to it in Iraq that Zionism does not disturb the good relationship prevailing between all the citizens of Iraq.

3 - Zionist Aims, Claims and Methods

Right from the promulgation of the Balfour Declaration the Arabs expressed their apprehension and repugnance to Zionist demands. The Mandatory power did its utmost to allay the fears of the Arabs of Zionist intentions, but time and experience justified Arab fears and apprehensions. The Zionists coming first with modest demands began to unfold their ambitions from year to year. Official Zionism today stands where the extremists stood 30 years ago - for a Jewish state in Palestine. The extremist today are not satisfied with Palestine alone. They want Trans-Jordan to be attached to Palestine to form one Jewish State immediately. This Jewish State might extend from the Nile to the Euphrates at a later stage and some pronouncements have appeared to the effect that Zionist ambitions do not fall short of the economic if not political penetration of the whole Middle East.

The Biltmore programme which represents the official Zionist programme today consists of turning Palestine into a Jewish Commonwealth, opening the gates of Palestine for unlimited Jewish immigration, vesting the Jewish Agency with the power of controlling immigration and up-building the country, certainly shows that the Zionists

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have moved a long way beyond the Balfour Declaration and the terms of the Mandate. This is exactly what the Arabs had anticipated from the Mandate and the Balfour Declaration. The mandatory power insists that they never understood the mandate to promise a Jewish state and had no such excessive Zionist demands and ambitions in mind, but there they are. I submit that there would be no problem in Palestine today were it not for Zionist ambition and Zionist aggression. These are the roots of all the trouble and unless the Zionists are definitely and finally told to abandon their political dream there can be no peace in the Middle East. Palestine is being invaded today by armed illegal immigrants carried by ships. Terrorism is rampant. If this is not an act of aggression and an infringement of international peace we do not know what aggression is.

The Zionists have used many arguments to justify their intended domination of Palestine. The first is their historical connection with Palestine. This argument is not valid because historical connections with lands today inhabited by other peoples cannot justify movements in the world's population. If this were to be permitted most of the countries of the earth should exchange populations. South American citizens of Spanish descent cannot return to Spain without the permission of the Spanish Government nor are the citizens of U.S.A., Canada, and New Zealand of English descent entitled to go back to England without the consent of the government of the United Kingdom. The historical connection of these people are relatively modern and not two thousand years old. Even if this principle were accepted the Jews are not historically more

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entitled to Palestine than its present-day inhabitants. The Jews actually ruled part of Palestine not more than 240 years and they lived there not even eight hundred years - the length of time which the Arabs of Palestine on the other hand are mainly descendants of peoples who lived in Palestine before the Jews and have actually been in Palestine for the last fourteen hundred years.

As for the continued spiritual connection of the Jews with Palestine this does not entitle them to return to Palestine. For spiritually Palestine is holy to the Christians and Moslems and Jews alike. There are more than five hundred million Christians in the world and some three hundred million Moslems, all of whom are as much spiritually interested in Palestine as are the Jews. There is no reason why Palestine should be claimed as Jewish because the Jews have spiritual connections with it. The fact is that spiritual connections with a place do not necessarily entail political connections. All the Moslems in the world have spiritual connections with Hedjaz but politically Hedjaz belongs to its own inhabitants. Moreover, the Moslems, with their traditions of liberalism and religious toleration towards the people of the book, namely the Christians and the Jews, have demonstrated how harmoniously Christians and Moslems live together in Palestine with freedom of worship enjoyed by all. The Jews as such have enjoyed such freedom of worship and toleration under the Moslems and they shall continue to do so. But Zionism poisons the atmosphere. Zionism has turned Palestine from a place of peace and spiritual life for all mankind into a place of material strife, struggles, and bloodshed.

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Another claim of the Zionists is that the Arabs are backward and that Zionists coming to Palestine help them materially and raise their standard of living. This is a very old imperialistic argument. It is the argument of the white man's burden, the fallacy of which is already exposed to the world. One aggression after another, one war after another, were waged on the strength of this argument and the world is sick of it !! The truth is that this is an excuse for domination. The Arabs do not want that rise in their standard of living which leads to the loss of their own country and to the inflow of foreign elements who have come in to dominate it; the Arabs are not a backward race; they have a glorious historical record. They do not need the Zionist to bring them civilization and culture. They certainly do not welcome many of the things brought by the Zionist into Palestine in the name of civilization and culture. The Arabs want to develop in the modern world in their own way and from within for no real culture can be achieved by imposition or superficial imitation. The Arabs facing the modern world are hoping to achieve a new cultural synthesis which is completely ban-sonant with their great philosophy and world mission, a culture based on human brotherhood with no racial or religious discrimination or superiorities. Zionism very much like Nazism is based on racial and religious discrimination and cannot provide the culture which the modern Arab wants. It has already discriminated against Arab employment on so-called Jewish national land where no Arab can be employed. As for material development the Arabs can develop better without Zionist intervention. We

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in Iraq are finding our own way towards material and cultural progress. No Zionists were needed to open a thousand elementary school, send hundreds of students to European and American institutions, and establish hundreds of hospitals and health centres in Iraq, and introduce great irrigation projects. We still have a long way to go yet, but we need no Zionists. Thus the Zionist argument of carrying the white man's burden in Palestine is totally rejected.

Another argument used by the Zionist is that the Arabs have vast areas of land and that the Jews are homeless and they need land. The first part of the argument can be easily dismissed for no matter how vast a people's country might be it is their own right to decide whether they can accept any newcomers or not and whom to accept. The Arabs are not the only people who have vast areas - the U.S.A., Canada, Australia, South America all possess vast areas of land that need development but no one speaks of imposing any immigration which has alien political domination as its aim. But the more serious part of the argument is the question of homelessness. This is a very dangerous concept. Why should the Zionist assume that the Jews are homeless? I wish to think that the home of an Iraqi Jew is Iraq and I hate to think that he feels homeless. The home of the English Jew is England and the home of French Jew is France and the Czechoslovakian Jew, Czechoslovakia. There should be no Jewish homeless and by spreading this concept Zionism is rendering disservice to the Jews all over the world for it is trying to undermine their loyalty to the country where they are

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and to make them feel that they are not at home where they are. Once this principle is accepted the Jews everywhere will be considered as strangers and hence anti-semitism will begin to operate. Assuming that the concept of Jewish homelessness is accepted, as a universal principle and that the Jews need a home, they should look for a place other than Palestine and the Arab world. Palestine cannot meet the concept of homelessness and the Arab world is no place for a Jewish political home. I do hope, however, that democracy shall prevail all over the world in such a way as to make every Jew feel at home wherever he is. By spreading the idea of homelessness amongst the Jews Zionism is becoming a danger to internal peace and harmony within each country having Jews - hence contributing to anti-semiticism and encouraging racial and religious distinctions and discriminations.

The Zionists claim that Palestine can admit millions of Jewish immigrants and see no reason why the Arabs object. The answer to this is threefold. In the first place Zionist estimation of the absorptive capacity of Palestine is highly exaggerated and is based on wasteful economy. In the second place they seem to disregard the natural growth of the Arab population who are already crowded in a relatively barren country. In the third place, even if the absorptive capacity permitted, which it does not, the Arabs reject any immigration which has political domination as an object and they are entitled to do so.

To achieve their ends the Zionists have means which are not available to the Arabs and hence Arab rights are not adequately known and the voice of the Arab world is

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not adequately heard in the Western world. Hence the task before your committee is highly important and delicate if right is to overcome wrong. Here are some of the powerful means used by the Zionists to make their ambitions and aggressive intentions appear to be right :

a) Economic pressure : The Zionist use great economic pressure to make the Arab sell his land. They allure him and they weaken him offering an exorbitant sum of money for his land - the weak Arab succumbs soon to find himself a landless homeless fellow. Economic pressure is used in gaining support and in averting attacks. We know of some well-known non-Jewish men who have been employed by Zionists and paid a good sum of money to promote their cause. We also know of anti-Zionist people who cannot raise their voices fearing Zionist economic threats and boycotts. But money and economic pressure cannot make wrong right.

b) With money goes political influence : In some countries Zionists have direct access to influential public men. With pressure of influence with business partnership the Zionists gain supporters in many countries. Such a support cannot make what is wrong right and what is unjust just.

c) Probably the most effective means which they have used to attain their goal is propaganda. The Zionists have a highly organized machinery of propaganda with which the Arab cannot possibly compete today. They have access to the press in most of the Western countries besides providing their own press. Through the press Zionists try to prove their wrong right and the right of the Arabs wrong. They usually follow three line sof propaganda -

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one is that there is nothing in the way of their achieving their own aims except these Nazi effendis and feudal Lords; the masses of the Arabs do not mind Zionist domination: they flourish under it. To this line of propaganda I need not say a word. You need only travel around the Arab world to discover for yourselves whether it is only the Effendis who are opposed to Zionism. I wish to assure you here that since the days of the prophet Mohammed, may Prayer and Peace bless his soul, until today the Arabs have never been united on everything as their on unity to oppose Zionism and this is true not only of the Palestine Arabs but of the Arabs throughout the Arab world. (example from D. Van der Meulen's Aden and the Hadhramant). This being the fact, I wish to assert that there can be no peace between political Zionism and the Arab world.

The second line of propaganda is that of the displaced persons. The question of displaced persons is a humanitarian matter which the Zionists try to exploit for their own political ends. The question of the D.P.'s should be settled on an international level and the UNO has already created a special organisation to deal with the matter. This problem should not complicate the situation in Palestine, arising from Zionist struggle for political domination. To assist Zionist political domination in Palestine with the pretext of D.P.'s is to create trouble in the Arab World. This is an anti-humanitarian act as one should not attempt to remove an injustice by committing a greater injustice.

The third line of Zionist propaganda is that of boasting of their achievements in Palestine. Sandy deserts turned into Paradise; modern farms established;

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many factories erected; huge hospitals built; etc. etc... To this line of propaganda we have two observations to make. The first is that given an unlimited source of dollars from the Zionists of the U.S.A. and Western science and technique any amount of construction can be made. The Arabs are doing their utmost with the limited resources at hand to work their own development. The second remark is that the Zionists rarely speak of the great losses incurred in what they have achieved. It is now a known fact that Zionist economy in Palestine is not selfsupplied. It is running on a deficit of something like 40 % paid from donations. But one might ask are the Zionists fools ? The answer is quite simple the Zionists have not come only for Palestine which is mainly a barren, rocky, and sandy country. Palestine is just a stepping-stone to the economic exploitation of the Middle East. In the long run, then, the Zionist dream of big economic returns which will make up for temporary losses. Hence the whole world needs to critically examine Zionist propaganda and Zionist influence on world press if we are to achieve peace in a democratic world. Great donations of money under humanitarian guise for terrorism and for aggressive invasion of Palestine must stop if we are to achieve peace in this part of the world.

d) A new method used by the extreme Zionists in post-war years has been a resort to force. Some Zionists in this war probably joined the Allied forces with a double end in view - the defeat of Hitler and the conquest of Palestine by force. They certainly learned some of the deadliest and most treacherous Nazi methods of warfare.

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They are applying them in Palestine today.

These are some of the Zionists methods by which they wish to dominate Palestine but the fact remains that it would have been better for all concerned if the Zionist came with a direct force for the invasion of Palestine as the Crusaders did in the past. These round-about methods and these false pretenses and camouflaged tactics cannot serve the purpose of peace. The undisputed truth is that the Arabs are unanimously opposed to political Zionism and that the Zionist can never establish a state in the Arab world. Such an attempt is doomed for it is unnatural to graft a foreign state on the Arab today.

3) What is involved in the Palestine Issue

What is involved in the Palestine issue is whether the principles of peace and justice can prevail or whether domination by the force of money, distorted propaganda, political pressure and terrorism will succeed.

What is involved is the loyalty of the Jews in every city in the world - are they to be uprooted or helped to live in a free democratic world.

What is involved in the future of the UNO and the maintenance of the principles of the Charter for the illegal immigrants invade Palestine and the terrorist practice violence under the very eyes of the U.N.'s Committee.

What is involved is the relationship between East and West for the East looks at Zionism as a western design inspired by old imperialistic methods which showed no respect for the rights and wishes of the people of the exploited country.

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What is involved is the spiritual serenity of Palestine - whether it is to be a cradle of peace and holiness where the spirit of man can find a refuge or is it going to be a place where struggle and bloodshed between peoples of religious and races prevail.

Much is involved in the question of Palestine and yet the question is so simple and the remedy is so easy to apply :

It is simple in spite of Zionist claims and propaganda which have created a complex problem out of a simple matter of invasion and desire for domination. It is easy in spite of terrorist violence for we believe that terrorism could easily be squashed with firmer handling of the situation.

4) Conclusions and Proposals

In conclusion may I summarize my views and recommendations in the following :

1) Palestine is an integral part of the Arab world and the Arab population are the rightful owners of the country and the Arabs will never yield Palestine or any part thereof. There is nothing between Arabs and Jews; as such they can live together harmoniously as they have done for thousands of years past.

2) The Mandate has no moral or legal foundation; it has introduced an element of trouble in Palestine which will continue to grow from year to year and disturb peace and stability throughout the Middle East unless the U.N.'s checks the source of trouble finally and completely.

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3) The source of trouble is political Zionism with its ever growing ambitions. Unless these political are finally and completely abandoned there can be no peace in Palestine or the Middle East. This can be done very easily if the United Nations declare that Zionist political ambitions are dangerous to peace and security in the Middle East for Arab nationalism and political Zionism can not go well together in Palestine. Either one or the other must disappear. The Arabs being the rightful inhabitants in Palestine are not ready to give up their Arab World. They will sooner or later fight for their political existence and defend their own country if aggression is permitted to continue. The Zionist should be advised to content themselves with cultural and spiritual home which they have already achieved and abandon their aggressive political designs.

4) The Zionists should all understand that a Jewish state was never promised and can never be established in the whole or part of Palestine. Such a state can never survive with a hostile people surrounding it and will always be a cause of war and struggle. We do not believe that the Jews need a state for they belong to the states where they reside. If it is deemed that a Jewish state is a human necessity it should be dealt with outside Palestine where no trouble will ensue.

5) A Unitary democratic state should be established in Palestine where the people of Palestine, irrespective of race and religion, shall work together and live together peacefully and in harmony. Those who do not wish to live in such a state should be advised to leave

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Palestine.

6) Some Zionists who want a Jewish state no matter how small to begin with and some non-Jews who are not familiar with the solution. I wish to make it clear no partition in any form or guise will be acceptable to the Arabs. They will fight it and resist sooner or later for no Jewish state in any size or form will ever be tolerated by the Arab world. Moreover partition can not work for more than one reason for it can never separate the Arabs from the Jews completely and the state derived therefrom can never stand on their feet alone economically. But these are, from the Arab point of view, secondary consideration compared with their firm determination to fight the idea of partition as well as the idea of the Jewish state. This point I hope the Committee will give due consideration.

7) Palestine is already relatively over-crowded if due consideration were given to the barrenness of the country and the natural growth of the population. That is why immigration should be completely stopped. If immigration ever were possible it should not take place without the consent of the Arabs of Palestine and their view of the absorption capacity of the country should be paramount. Even then immigration shall not be discriminatory and there is no justification for having Jewish immigrants mainly. The quota should be fairly distributed amongst all Moslems, Christians and Jews who wish to come to Palestine to lead a spiritual life.

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8) An independent democratic Palestine shall be recognised by the members of the United Nations and as such it shall be a member of the Arab League and of the United Nations.

An experience of thirty years proved that flagrant injustice was done to the political rights of the Arabs of Palestine. That injustice led to strife and unrest throughout this period. Many committees and commissions were sent and made reports, with no avail. The Arabs have become desperate and they lost hope in committees. May this Committee at last, guided by the principles of the charter, make such recommendations which will finally and finality in the situation so that peace and harmony may prevail in the Land of Peace and in all the Middle East.

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C.

ANSWERS OF ARAB GOVERNMENTS TO
THE MAIN QUESTIONS ASKED BY MEMBERS
OF THE COMMITTEE.

1. The position of Jews in a Palestinian Arab
State as favoured by the Arab States.

1) What would be the fate of illegal Jewish immigrants and such immigrants that have not acquired Palestinian nationality (see p 16 of the memorandum: "à accorder à tous les juifs ayant acquis la nationalité palestinienne par des voies légales, les mêmes droits...").

To begin with, we wish to define the word illegal. The Arabs consider all Jews who entered Palestine as illegal. Some of these, however, given Palestinian nationality by the Mandatory Power are de facto citizens. The word illegal as used in the question, however, seems to refer to the Jews who entered Palestine without the consent of the mandatory Power. These should be dealt with according to the laws applied at present to Arab illegal immigrants namely expulsion from the country. There is no reason for discrimination. As for those who have not acquired citizenship, they shall submit to the laws which the future independent state of Palestine shall legislate. Those who fulfill requirements of citizenship shall become citizens; others might be treated as aliens without discrimination.

2) Page 14: "Cette proposition consiste en la nécessité d'arrêter immédiatement toute immigration juive en Palestine, de maintenir les règlements actuellement en vigueur sur le transfert des terres..." How does this harmonise with the principle of equal rights proclaimed on p.16 (see above ? Is the proposition on page 14 only /to be.. ..

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to be considered as a temporary arrangement ?

We demand immediate stoppage of immigration and transfer of land from Arabs to the Jews until an independent democratic state of Palestine is created. Once the state is formed, it shall be entitled to legislate on such matters, provided the legislation shall be made with the consent of the majority of the Arab members of Parliament and provided that the legislation shall contain no discrimination among Palestinian citizens.

3) Would, in your opinion, the Jews have possibilities to develop freely in a Palestinian Arab State ? Would they have the right of an educational system of their own ? What would happen to the Jewish industry ?

1. Our answer to the first part of this question is in the affirmative.

11. The constitution of the independent state of Palestine shall provide for the right of religious bodies and other societies and individuals to maintain, in addition to educational establishments administered by public authority, private schools and universities subject to the compulsory teaching of Arabic in the schools and to Government control for the purpose of maintaining educational standards and preventing subversive teaching with the object of creating common allegiance without discrimination.

111. Palestinian Jewish industry shall be treated like any other Palestinian industry and subject to social legislation.

4). Why would a Jewish State not be viable
(p. 12 to 14).

A Jewish State is not viable because it will not be tolerated by the Arab world and it cannot subsist surrounded by hostile peoples and states. The Arabs will

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never yield a post of their homeland to be a Jewish State.

5). The statement on page 16 in the middle of the page. The Jews contend that bad treatment has been inflicted on the Jews in one or two Arab States. What about this contradiction ?

The Jews lived in the Arab world in peace and harmony. History demonstrates examples of great liberalism and tolerance on the part of the Arabs towards peoples of all religions. It is only recently that Zionism has begun to poison the atmosphere between Jews and non-Jews. The one incident in Bagdad was a Nazi Coup d'Etat in 1941 using Zionism as a pretext for an assault on the Jews. The Iraqi Government soon squashed that movement and bitterly punished those who were responsible for the assault on the Jews.

6). In the case of Palestine becoming an independent Arab State, how will law and order be maintained having in view the fact that the Mandatory Power needs a considerable armed force for that purpose under present circumstances ?

We believe that an Independent State of Palestine has to be prepared and equipped for maintaining an efficient police force which will be able to cope with any intransigent element in the country. We do not believe that a big force is needed provided that firm handling of the culprit becomes the rule.

7). Is an interim period contemplated before an independent State is established?

Yes, a very short interim period is contemplated before an independent state is established. It would not need to exceed one year.

11. Is there anything to fear for the Jewish

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communities in the Arab States (see memorandum page 11) ?

The Arab States are quite anxious that the Palestine question is settled justly. For any injustice incurred on the Arabs of Palestine reflects badly on the relations between Jewish Communities in the Arab world.

111. Reactions with regard to certain solutions.

1). How is the security of the Arab States jeopardized by the establishment of a Jewish State in Palestine (see p.11). Is it meant any Jewish State, even a small one consisting only of part of Palestine ?

Yes, a Jewish State no matter how small jeopardizes the security of the Arab world from within and from without. These might be intriguing economic pressure and gradual infiltration leading to domination. From without, a Jewish State may be a bridgehead for aggression.

2). What means the paragraph in the middle of page 12; "Toute fissure dans cet ensemble etc." ? What is the fissure thought of ?

Any foreign body in the Arab world breaks its integral unity and this is specially true of the case of Palestine.

3). Would the Arab States ever have recourse to violent measures (see p.12: "par tous les moyens en leur pouvoir" and p.13) ?

The Arab nations consider the establishment of a Jewish State in Palestine as a hostile act and they feel obliged to defend themselves by all means including violence.

4). Several solutions have been mentioned:

- a) a bi-national state with a limited immigration,
- b) a federal state, comprising two or more part states, each having the power to determine whether or not immigration would take place,

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c) partition, involving the establishment of two independent states which as a matter of course would be at liberty to decide on the immigration question. What are your reasons to discard these solutions ?

We consider any further immigration and any form of position which might lead to a Zionist bridgehead in the Arab world is inconsistent with our national rights and interests.

5) What would in your opinion be the chance of such solutions being accepted by the Palestinian population ?

The views of the Arabs of the Palestine Arabs are well known on the matter and they flatly neglect all such solutions.

IV. The safeguards with regard to the Holy Places.

1) Would there be necessity of some safeguard for access to and worshipping at the Holy Places ? in the affirmative, which ?

We believe in the freedom of worship and the statu quo provides for it in Palestine to-day. That statu quo should be maintained in future, and we do not think any further safeguards are necessary. The Arabs are quite prepared to guarantee this statu quo.

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D

ANSWERS OF ARAB GOVERNMENTS TO QUESTIONS BY
THE INDIAN MEMBER OF THE COMMITTEE.

1) Faycal-Weizman agreement.

Faycal-Weizman agreement is null and void. The foot-note which King Faycal added in Arabic to the document makes it absolute.

2) Their position at the London Conference (all the Arab States) and the terms offered for a settlement.

We are ready to present the honourable member with the minutes of the London Conference together with the Arab scheme for the solution of the Palestine problem.

3) The objections against a partition:

- a) into two sovereign states
- b) into two federal states with a central government.

Objections against partition were given in answer to question No.4 (11).

4) Their reasons for their apprehension in regard to Jewish encroachment into Transjordan, Lebanon etc.

The Zionist made several attempts at the penetration of Transjordan and the Lebanon. They intended to buy lands and get concessions in order to have a foot-hold there. They were always met with an opposition from the people. Some Zionists do not hide their intentions of annexing Transjordan into the Intended Jewish state and expand the state later on to neighbouring countries.

5) The importance of Negeb to Arab States.

Negeb is a part of the Arab body which is as essential to the Arab world as any member to the body. Beside its strategic importance to the Arab world it will certainly provide room for the expansion of the ever increasing Arab world.

6) Standard of living of the Palestinian Arabs as compared to their standards in the neighbouring states.

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7) Causes of improvements of these standards in
Palestine.

8) Efforts of Mandatory Power towards the improvement of Palestinian Arabs.

The Mandatory power - although they exerted most of their effort in facilitating the establishment of the National Home - did make a relatively small effort to improve the conditions of the Arabs of Palestine. As for the Jews, they have had no direct effect on the improvement of the Palestine Arabs which is worth mentioning.

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MAIN QUESTIONS TO BE ASKED BY MEMBERS OF THE COMMITTEE.

The position of Jews in a Palestinian Arab State as favoured by the Arab States.

1) What would be the fate of illegal Jewish immigrants and such immigrants that have not acquired Palestinian nationality (see p.16 of the memorandum: "À accorder à tous les Juifs ayant acquis la nationalité palestinienne par des voies légales, les mêmes droits..").

2) Page 14: "Cette proposition consiste en la nécessité d'arrêter immédiatement toute immigration juive en Palestine, de maintenir les règlements actuellement en vigueur sur le transport des terres...." How does this harmonize with the principle of equal rights proclaimed on p.16 (see above)? Is the proposition on page 14 only to be considered as a temporary arrangement?

3) Would, in your opinion, the Jews have possibilities to develop freely in a Palestinian Arab State? Would they have the right of an educational system of their own? What would happen to the Jewish industry?

4) Why would a Jewish State not be viable (p.12 to 14.).

5) The statement on page 16 in the middle of the page. The Jews contend that bad treatment has been inflicted on the Jews in one or two Arab States. What about this contradiction?

6) In the case of Palestine becoming an independent Arab State, how will law and order be maintained having in view the fact that the Mandatory Power needs a considerable armed force for that purpose under present circumstances?

7) Is an interim period contemplated before an independent State is established?

11. Is there anything to fear for the Jewish communities in the Arab States (see memorandum page 11)?

111. Reactions with regard to certain solutions.

1) How is the security of the Arab States jeopardized by the establishment of a Jewish State in Palestine (see p. 11). Is it meant any Jewish State, even a small one consisting only of part of Palestine?

/2).....

1	2	3	4	5	6
1	1	1	1	1	1

Reference: -

FO 371/61876

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3) Would the Arab States ever have recourse to violent measures (see p. 12: "par tous les moyens en leur 'pouvoir" and p.13)?

5) What would in your opinion be the chances of such solutions being accepted by the Palestinian population?

1) Would there be necessity of some safeguards or guarantees for access to and worshipping at the Holy Places? In the affirmative, which ?

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		1		2	

99

1947

E

PALESTINE

E 7160

7 AUG 1947

213

Registry
Number

TELEGRAM FROM

No.

Dated

Received
in Registry

E 7160/957/31

Vienna

PW/OP/65/V

to German
Delegation

5 Aug

Visit of U.N.S.C.O.P. to Germany.
 Refers, 40 of 1463, Berlin (E 7005/957/31)
 Requests urgently submission of dates of
 visit and all details in order to prepare
 for reception of delegation

Last Paper.

7143

References.

(Print.)

(How disposed of.)

F.O.S. of to

Vienna A/402

Aug 5

F.O.S. of 1463 to

Berlin.

Aug 2.

F.O.S. of A/402 to

Vienna.

7 Aug

(Action
completed.)

J.S. 11/4/8

(Index.)

11/4/8

Next Paper.

E 7172

(Minutes.)

UNSCOP will communicate with
 Vienna direct, when their final
 arrangements are made.

H.T.B. 7/8

German Refugee Dept.

F.O.S. of to Vienna A/402 Aug 5

- - - A/402 - 7

- - - Berlin 1463 - 2.

H.T.B. 15/8

1
2
3
4
5
6

Reference: -

FO 371/61876

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E. Encl
 214
 E 7160

(This telegram is of particular secrecy and should be retained by the authorised recipient and not passed on)

FROM VIENNA TO FOREIGN OFFICE (GERMAN SECTION)

PW/DP/65/V

SECRET

MOST IMMEDIATE

D. 2.30 pm 5th August 1947

R. 5 pm 5th August 1947

Your most immediate telegram on visit of United Nations Special Committee on Palestine.

Request urgently submission of dates of visit and delegation and to afford them every facility.

Action.

Mr Ivimy

Distribution.

Standard Travel Policy

PS/Mr Mayhew

Mr Gladwyn Jebb

Mr Boothby

Mr Beeley

Mr Patrick Dean Mr Underwood (2 copies)

German Refugee Dept (6 copies)

Eastern Dept

U.N. (Econ) Dept

A/402
G/1224
0555
HWS/JV

1 2 3 4 5 6
 1 2
 Reference: **FO** 371/61876
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215'

(This telegram is of particular secrecy and should be retained by the authorised recipient and not passed on)

A/402.

SECRET

5th August 1947

IMMEDIATE

D. 8.15 pm 5th August 1947

Your PW/DP/65/V dated 5th August.

Visit of United Nations Special Committee on
Palestine.

Date not yet fixed but probable dates of stay in Austria are August 9th to 11th.

ORIGINATOR.

Mr Freeman

Distribution.

Standard Travel Policy
PS/Mr Mayhew
Mr Boothby
Mr Patrick Dean
Mr Gladwyn Jebb
Mr Beeley
Mr Underwood (2 copies)
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U.N. (Econ) Dept

A/402
G/1224

44

WJM/JWS

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1	2	3	4	5	6
				2	

Reference: **FO** 371/61876

CYPHER
(Paraphrasing
unnecessary)

7/60/951/11

P.W.
2/6

OUTWARD TELEGRAM

(This telegram is of particular secrecy and should be
retained by the authorised recipient and not passed on)

FROM FOREIGN OFFICE (GERMAN SECTION) TO VIENNA

A/402

SECRET

7th August 1947

IMMEDIATE

D. 4.35 pm 7th August 1947

Your P./DP/65/V dated 5th August.

Visit of United Nations Special Committee on Palestine.

Dates in our A/402 dated 5th August confirmed.
of 25

2. Party consists/plus crew of 6 plus air hostess.
3. After leaving Vienna on Monday pm the party will fly to Berlin.

Originator.

Mr Freeman

Distribution.

Standard Travel Policy
PS/Mr Mayhew
Mr Boothby
Mr Patrick Dean
Mr Gladwyn Jebb
Mr Beeley
Mr Underwood (2 copies)
German Refugee Dept (6 copies)
Eastern Dept
U.N. (Econ) Dept

A/402
51
AM/KN

1	2	3	4	5	6
1	2	3	4	5	6

Reference: FO 371/61876

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2 AUG 1947.

194

Letter dated

REFUGEE CAMPS

FROM OUR SPECIAL CORRESPONDENT

GENEVA, AUG. 1

The route of the sub-committee of the United Nations Palestine committee appointed to visit displaced persons' camps will be Munich, Vienna, Berlin, the British zone, and Belsen. The sub-committee will report on the attitude of the inmates of the assembly centres towards resettlement, repatriation, and immigration into Palestine.

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Reference:

○

371 61876

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103

E

E 7242

AUG 1947

1947

Registry
Number

FROM

No.

Dated

Received
in Registry

E7242/717/31

c/o Peace Garden

Amman.

86.

20 July

9 Aug

Visit of UNSCOP. to Amman.
Refer Amman Tel. 236 (E6835/717/31) re
Abdullah's message to UNSCOP for transmission
& info. to effect that although in accordance
to UNSCOP, Transjordan Govt. considered
establishment of an independent state in
Palestine. There were not the real views
of either himself or the Govt.

Last Paper.

Y215-

References.

(Print.)

(How disposed of.)

8/8.0
✓ Aug 19

(Action
completed.)

(Index.)

Next Paper.

7243

(Minutes.)

9 very much doubt whether King
Abdullah could get away with this against
the resolute opposition of the Mufti, of which
the

In any case the latest rumours from
Geneva attribute to the majority of the U.N.
Committee a leaning towards a modified
form of partition, retaining the unity of
Palestine for certain limited purposes. If
these rumours are accurate, His Majesty seems
to have missed the bus.

H33 only 7/8

bpy/c.o.

No reply to King Abdullah's
message seems necessary.

W33 only 11/8

807 Aug 14

W33 only 12.8

✓ Sir O. Sargent.

Wt 24772/717 17855 10/38 F.O.U.

1	2	3	4	5	6
1	2	3	4	5	6

Reference: FO 371/61876

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TELEG. ADDRESS: PRODROME AMMAN

Re No. S/852/46.

DESPATCH NO. 86.

TOP SECRET

BRITISH LEGATION
AMMAN

220

30th July, 1947.

E 7242

112 1147

6835/10/10

Sir,

I have the honour to refer to my telegram No. 236 of 28th July, 1947, on the subject of the visit of U.N.S.C.O.P. to Amman and to inform you that King Abdullah has given me a message during my routine visit to him yesterday, which he requests should be conveyed to you. The message is that although for reasons which were both political and tactical the Transjordan Government in its official evidence before the U.N.S.C.O.P. Committee had felt obliged to dismiss Partition as a possible solution to the Palestine problem, and to advocate the establishment of an independent state in Palestine, he wished it to be known that these were not the real views either of his Government or of himself.

The King considered that Partition was the only solution and he hoped that every effort would be made to ensure that it was adopted. His Majesty then said that in the event of a partition scheme being finally promulgated the question must arise as to whether the new state should be independent, or should be attached to Transjordan. He therefore wished it to be known to you that in the latter event he would be perfectly willing to give his full Palestine, or as much of them as were Arab areas of to withstand any abuse and criticism to which this action might expose him from the other Arab States.

The King continued that he realized that he might well be reproached by the British Government for not having stated this opinion plainly to the Committee during their visit but he explained, with some reason, that as Transjordan was the one Arab State which stood to gain substantially from partition it was impossible that she should also be the only state publicly to advocate this course contrary to the official views of the whole Arab world. He felt he could however accept partition and any incidental adhesions of additional territory after recommendation by United Nations Organisation that he should do so.

2. In further conversation with the King I found that His Majesty was under the impression that the Jewish State was not likely to comprise more than the strip of coast between Haifa and Tel-Aviv, and he seemed disappointed when I indicated to him the Peel Commission boundaries and pointed out that the Jews were demanding that area in addition to the Negeb. In spite of this the King still maintained that he would be willing to take over whatever was left.

3/...2

The Right Honourable Ernest Bevin, M.P.,
Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs,
The Foreign Office,
LONDON, S.W.1.

1	2	3	4	5	6

Reference:

FO

371/61876

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3. At a later stage the Prime Minister confirmed to me that he was in agreement with the King on this subject, and that while he did not know what military implications might be involved in a proposal to hand to Transjordan the Arab areas of Palestine, when considerable opposition might be expected from the supporters of the Husseini party, he assumed that this difficulty would somehow be overcome at the time. He pointed out further that in his statement to the Committee he had purposely made his rejection of Partition as a solution more a matter of administrative than political difficulty, and had based his rejection mainly on the fact that the Woodhead Commission had found that Partition to be unworkable.

4. I do not feel that this is a matter on which I can usefully offer any comment beyond saying that it would obviously be to the advantage of Transjordan to obtain additional territories and populations provided they could be acquired without blood shed. The possibility of Transjordan eventually assuming control of the Arab area of Palestine is one which I have several times discussed with Sir Alec Kirkbride in the past and I know that he has definite ideas as to the most satisfactory line of action to be followed if such a proposal were ever to be seriously considered. I suggest that as Sir Alec Kirkbride is now on leave in the United Kingdom you may wish to draw his attention to this despatch on his next visit to the Foreign Office and talk over with him the various implications of King Abdullah's intimation.

I have the honour to be,
with the highest respect, Sir,
Your most obedient,
humble servant,



(C.M. Pirie-Gordon)

1	2	3	4	5	6

Reference:-

FO 371/61876

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E

222

E 7243

1947

PALESTINE

AUG 1947

Registry
Number

FROM

No.

Dated

Received
in Registry

E7243/951/31

Legation

Teddala

112

27 July

9 Aug

Handwritten Arabic Memo on Political
Report Teddala to 280 (E6755/951/31)
Now transmit full text of memo on Political
Teddala to Minister by Yusuf Yassin

Last Paper.

7242.

References.

(Print.)

(How disposed of.)

Ref Teddala	333
Rpt. Cairo	126
Bogdad	43
Beirut	47
Damascus	32
Amman	28
Terrusden	
NY New York	227
W. Jan	861
	Aug 14

(Action
completed.)

(Index)

Next Paper

E7275

(Minutes.)

See especially the market passages.
It is of interest that the Zionists
(or some of them) are making exactly parallel
... Mr. Israel Berlin who has just
returned from Palestine, tells me that Dr.
Weizmann would like to open ^{informal} ~~formal~~ L
discussions with us, with a view to reaching
agreement on a form of partition. This could
then be sold to the U.N. Assembly, presumably
with American help, or put into effect if
the Assembly failed to make a recommendation.

I am also told by Mr. Eitan (the
Jewish Agency Liaison Officer with UNSCOP,
who has been paying a brief visit to London)
that the Committee ^{are} assuming that their

/report

1	2	3	4	5	6

Reference: FO 371/61876

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report has little chance of being put into effect unless its recommendations are approved by H.M.G. They do not want to produce an abortive report, and some of them therefore are still hankering after a visit from a British Minister, who they hope would give them some guidance as to the prospects for acceptance by H.M.G. of the proposals they are considering.

I do not think we can make a move in any direction until the Committee has reported. But the moral of all this seems to be that, if the U.K. Delegation are empowered to take a clear line at the autumn Assembly, ^{our} ~~their~~ influence may yet be decisive.

A reply to Gaddis may be thought necessary; I attach a draft

H. Beeley 9/8

This note from the Saudi Arabian for
to ourselves and the Americans is
sent by them "as a member of the League"
and purports to speak for all "the Arab States".
Presumably

1	2	3	4	5	6
1	2	3	4	5	6

Reference: **FO** 371/61876

Presumably therefore the Saudis have
some authority from the Arab League
or the Arab States to approach us
and the Americans in the sense suggested.

Qy. Such C.O. concurrence in
Mr Bealey's draft reply to Jidda.

Unfostered
11/8

Yes. When agreed, this should be
submitted for approval.

note

12.8

per Bealey

C.O. concurrence now obtained.

H.B. Bealey 13/8

The initials of Sir O. Sargent
and sent.

H.B. 14/8

Nothing to be Written in this Margin.

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1	1	1	1	1	1

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FO 371/61876

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SECRET

No. 112 (54/165/47)

E 7243

225

HIS Majesty's Charge d'Affaires
presents his compliments to His Majesty's Principal Secretary of State
and has the honour to transmit to him the under-mentioned documents.

British.....Legation.....

.....Jedda.....

27th July....., 1947.

Reference to previous correspondence:

Our telegram No.280 of 25th July 1947

Description of Enclosure.

Name and Date.	Subject.
Aide Memoire received from Saudi Arabian Ministry of Foreign Affairs 24th July 1947.	Palestine Problem

COPIES TO:

United Kingdom Delegation
His Majesty's Ambassador at Washington
His Majesty's Ambassador at Cairo
His Majesty's Minister at Bagdad
His Majesty's Minister at Amman
His Majesty's Minister at Damascus
His Majesty's Minister at Beirut

1	2	3	4	5	6

Reference:-
FO 371/61876

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Aide Mémoire regarding the problem of Palestine.

There was a meeting of a Committee of the United Nations, and a Committee of investigation was elected without the consent of the Arab States. The powers given to the Committee were contrary to the requests of the Arab States. The Arab States therefore reserve their liberty and rights in the matter.

The Political Committee held a meeting at Cairo on June 5th 1947, and exchanged views about the attitude which the Arab States should adopt. A representative from Palestine attended the meeting of the Political Committee and stated that all the people of Palestine were united on the point that the election of the Committee was contrary to their interests, and that the powers given to this Committee were inconsistent with the principles of justice and right, and inconsistent with the principles of democracy which place sovereignty in the hands of the majority of the inhabitants. It is known that the inhabitants of Palestine are the Arabs and they have the majority, and in spite of every violation of their legal and moral rights by the introduction of numbers of Jews into Palestine, they still have the majority in the country. On these grounds and for other reasons they observe that it would not be in their interests to give their views to the Committee of investigation. Moreover, they wished, on the other hand, to make clear to the States members of the United Nations Committee the fact that they did not consent to the diminution of their rights, and to the solution of the Jewish problem, for the creation of which they were not responsible, at their expense.

to choose a way to defend their rights. The Arab States, which consider Palestine as a part of the Arab body, and also consider that Zionism with its principles and objects besides the threat which it constitutes to an Arab country in the effacement of its Arab nationality, by the creation of a majority in it, intends all kinds of evil to the neighbouring Arab States which consider Zionism as their enemy. They therefore feel compelled to take all measures for resistance and defence.

The Arab States will do whatever they can in all fields with all means at their disposal for their defence against the aggression of Zionism.

If the International Committee of Investigation wishes to hear the views of the Saudi Arabian Government they will not hesitate to explain their views clearly and frankly, with reservations made by the Saudi Arabian delegation in the Committee of the United Nations towards the Committee of Investigation and its powers.

The Arab States consider Britain as the first party responsible for this aggression of Zionism against the security of Arab countries which has become a danger threatening Britain itself as well as all the Arab States.

The Arab States also consider the Government of the United States of America as the second party responsible for such aggression owing to earlier proposals attributed to them, and also on account of the impression that the United States pressed Britain

1	2	3	4	5	6
Reference: -					
FO 371/61876					

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Britain to act in the interest of the Jews and the Zionist Committee against the interests of the Arabs in spite of the principles of justice and equity and humanity, and in spite of the written promises which His Majesty the King of the Saudi Arabian Kingdom received from Roosevelt and which were confirmed by the present President.

The right of the Arabs in their country does not need proof, because of the fact that they are the owners, and the arrival of those Jews was contrary to the wish of the inhabitants. The Arabs are not asking for a favour; they are claiming a clear right which they inherited from their fathers and grand-fathers.

The Government of Britain and America are, of course, the two democratic Governments which plunged into that great world war for the support of the principles and rights - and they did right - and the two Governments should be certain that any solution which fails to establish a natural right cannot solve the problem and cannot insure the peace.

The Saudi Arabian Government as well as the other Arab Governments are most anxious for the maintenance of their bonds of friendship with the two democratic Governments, and believe that peace in the East depends upon the continuation of this friendship. The activities of His Majesty the King of the Saudi Arabian Kingdom and the efforts he made during and after the war clearly prove the measure of His Majesty's desire to support the principles of democracy. This desire of His Majesty will not be less in the future than it was in the past. He, as well as the Arab Governments, consider that a solution of this problem in the interests of peace in the East will States come to an understanding with the two friendly Governments of Britain and America before the case comes before the United Nations Committee.

The Saudi Arabian Government and the other Arab States requested the United Nations Committee to place on the agenda of the ordinary session for September the termination of the mandate for Palestine and the recognition of its independence. They wish to agree with the two Governments on this basis, and to co-operate with them for a settlement in this sense in the United Nations Committee, because Palestine does not fall behind the neighbouring Arab countries in progress, culture, science and right to independence and freedom which God granted to his creatures.

If such an agreement cannot be reached the reaction will no doubt be most unfavourable, and we, the Arab States, and Britain and America will have to undergo the resulting difficulties, worries and burdens. The only ones to profit will be the enemies of peace who try to create dispute between the Arab States and the two Governments of Britain and America whose mutual interests require that they shall be on the best terms of agreement and concord.

The Saudi Arabian Government in forwarding this request as a member of the League trust that it will receive all help and support from the two friendly Governments.

1	2	3	4	5	6

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No. E7243/951/31.

~~Top Secret~~
Secret.
~~Confidential~~
~~Restricted~~
~~Open~~

Draft.

Telegram. *Judda*

No. 333 ✓

(Date) Aug: 14

Repeat to :—

Cairo	126	-
Bagdad	43	.S.
Beirut	47	.S.
Damascus	32	.S.
Amman	28	.S.
Jerusalem		
UK D.L. A.Y	221	-
Washington	861	.S.

En Clair.

Code.

Cypher.

Distribution :—

World Orgn.

C.O. for concurrence HB.

Copies to :—

7/73.9/8

Wm L. S.

midnight 13.8 ~~54~~ 50/50 Sargent

OUT FILE

F. Q.

228

194

Despatched

M.

SECRET.

Your telegram no. 280 and
your despatch no. 112 [Pelestine]

The attitude of the U.K.

Delegation at the autumn session of the General Assembly must obviously be determined with reference to the report to be presented by the United Nations Special Committee. Until the contents of the report are known, there can be no point in further discussion of the Palestine problem between the ~~strictly~~ interested parties.

2. You should not take the initiative in explaining this to the Saudi Arabian Government. Should they, however, revert to

1/Th

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TO

371 61876

229

the subject of their aide-memoire,
you should make the position
clear. It does not of course follow
that, once the Committee has
reported, we shall not be prepared
to discuss the resulting situation
with other interested parties. But
we cannot meanwhile commit
ourselves even to this.

BB
Jug 14

NOTHING TO BE WRITTEN IN THIS MARGIN.

1	2	3	4	5	6
1	2	3	4	5	6

Reference:-

FO 371/61876

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220

Secret

WORLD ORGANISATION
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4

D. 11.40 a.m. 15th August, 1947

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TO

371

61876

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Reference:-

FO 371/61876

100

E

E 7172

231

PALESTINE

7 AUG 1947

Registry
Number

FROM

No.

Dated

Received
in Registry

E 7172/951/31

C.V.

Command.

7 Aug

McGillivray report on UN SCOP.

Copy of letter from Mr. McGillivray to Dr. Hofford Smith. 60 of Aug. 4. reporting conversation with Sandstrom and Stoo. during which, took opportunity to ask for an advance copy of Committee report for 14th Aug. for their reply. and further comments.

Last Paper.

7160

References.

(Print.)

(How disposed of.)

Rpt. Dr. Hofford Smith
C.O.

from Mr. Beeley

✓ Aug. 11

(Action
completed.)

(Index)

G.C. 12/8

16/8
26/8/46

Next Paper.

E 7178

(Minutes.)

The whole of Mr. McGillivray's letter is of interest. The opinions of Musa Bey Alami, as recorded in para. 7, are familiar to us but have not been put on record before.

See also the marked passages in the record of Mr. Justice Sandstrom's press conference.

I attach a draft ~~in~~ answer to the C.O.'s request for our views on Mr. McGillivray's first paragraph.

United Nations Dept.

H. Beeley 9/8

W.M. 8/8

Mr. Sedley
Hon. G. ...
You must ...
b/c

E 12.12.11
New ...
L. ...
please

232

SECRET 7172 GENEVA.

4th August, 1947.

7 AUG 1947

I had lunch with Sandstrom and Hoo on Friday and took the opportunity to ask whether it would be possible to let H.M.G. have an advance copy of the Committee's report, so that there might be time to consider it as long as possible before the meeting of the General Assembly. They showed appreciation of the need for this, but Hoo said that he thought it would be necessary to let other interested parties also have copies of the report at the same time, so that when the matter came before the Assembly postponement of discussion would not be asked for on the grounds that there had been no time for its examination. Both Hoo and Sandstrom thought that the report would contain a number of appendices and maps and that one of these appendices would be the complete record of oral evidence given in public; the printing of the report and the preparation of some of the appendices would be undertaken in New York and the report in its full and printed form might therefore not be ready for many days, if at all, before the meeting of the Assembly. I said that I thought it would be quite sufficient if H.M.G. were to receive a single typescript copy of the report without appendices, but would like to have this at the earliest possible date so that consideration might be given to it in London well before the U.K. Delegation had to leave for New York. Sandstrom said that he did not think there would be any objection to this provided this advance copy was regarded as confidential until such time that in so far as the British Government was concerned they could rest assured it would be treated as strictly confidential.

I propose to raise this matter again in due course to ensure that it is not lost sight of and that a definite decision is taken in due time. It will, of course, be obvious to you that, if advance copies are also given by the Committee to the Jewish Agency, the Arab Higher Committee and the Arab States well in advance of publication, secrecy will not be observed and garbled versions of the recommendations will be allowed to circulate before the date of official publication; these may accelerate and accentuate foment in Palestine. On the other hand if an advance copy is not handed to the Jewish Agency it is certain that Granados or Fabregat will convey one through the back door and the effect will be the same. It seems to me therefore that, if there is likely to be delay of more than a few days between the signing of the report and its publication in full and printed form, there might be advantage if the authority of the Secretary-General were to be sought by the Committee for a procedure whereby advance typescript copies of the report itself (without appendices), or merely of the recommendations alone, were to be made available to the press at the same time as copies are handed to the Mandatory Power and the other parties directly interested. Since, however, the report is made to the General Assembly it might be deemed necessary to receive the prior approval of all member nations of that Assembly to such an unusual procedure. You will no doubt give consideration to this point and let me know in due course what line to take with the Chairman and Hoo when I next discuss the question with them.

2. It/

Trafford Smith, Esq.,
Colonial Office,
London. S.W.1.

1	2	3	4	5	6

Reference:-
FO
371/61876

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2. It is interesting that the Yugoslav and the Czech did not vote with Guatemala and Uruguay in favour of the visit to the D.P. camps. There has, I think, been a cooing off in relations between the Yugoslavs and these two South American delegations and they are not now to be seen together. I rather fancy that this may be because the tactics of Granddas and Fabregat in giving open support to the Zionist case are not such as commend themselves to the more inscrutable representatives of the Soviet bloc.

3. I understand that there will be no open hearings by Hood's sub-committee. They intend to pick inmates of the camps at random and hear them in private in the hope of learning from them their real views as to resettlement. Sommerfeld tells me that Zionist propaganda has been so intense in the camps that very few are likely to say that they do not wish to go to Palestine. Although the Committee will not allow the Jewish Agency liaison officers to go along with them they do intend to contact the various representatives of the Jewish Agency and of the J.D.C. who are resident at the camps; indeed, they could hardly do otherwise, since the great majority of the camps are directly administered by the J.D.C. and hardly any by the I.R.O. Sommerfeld (who is Deputy Director of the refugee section of the U.N.O. Secretariat at Lake Success) was over here for the I.R.O. Conference just concluded in Lausanne; he has now been attached to the UNSCOP secretariat and will go with Hood's sub-committee as its secretary. It was he who gave evidence to the Committee last Wednesday and described the intense Zionist propaganda which leads Jews from eastern Europe into these camps in increasing numbers and which is contained in the camps themselves. Sommerfeld was followed by Altmeyer, the retiring Executive Secretary of the I.R.O. When Altmeyer was asked if there was any Zionist propaganda in the camps he replied "Not to my knowledge".

4. Sandstrom (who is now busy drafting in person the historical summary which is to form the introduction to the report) told me that his own affairs will call him back to Sweden as soon as the report is signed, but that he would go to Lake Success for the General Assembly if he were asked for.

Dr. Ulloa, it seems, does not intend to leave Peru at present and is content to let his alternate carry on and sign the report. This is very satisfactory to Sandstrom who gets on very well with Garcia Salazar.

Blom is again in bed, this time not from falling into a tomb, but from threat of flebitis. He has had bad luck and is one of the members whom the Committee can least easily spare.

5. I have now handed to Sandstrom the documents detailed in the Secretary of State's confidential Savingsgram No. 785 of 11th July to Palestine, being records of the proceedings of the 1946-1947 conference with the Arab States in London. In doing so I repeated the explanation contained in the Secretary of State's telegram No. 1522 of 12th July addressed to the High Commissioner, an explanation which had already been given in Jerusalem by the High Commissioner himself. I assume that copies of these documents were made available at the time of the Conference to the representatives of the Arab States; I shall be glad if you will confirm this to me, since Sandstrom has been ~~again~~ enquiring on this point.

6. Lord Samuel wrote two personal reports on the Administration of Palestine while he was High Commissioner. These were published /

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published as Non-Parliamentary Publications (? Colonial No. 5 of 1924 and Colonial No. 7 of 1925). One was written in, I think, 1923 and the second, reviewing the whole period of his tenure as High Commissioner, in 1925. They are not to be confused with the Annual Reports of that period. The "Scott memorandum" quotes from both of them. I have not got here a copy of either of these reports (there is only a single copy of each extant in Jerusalem) and the library at the Palais des Nations cannot produce them. Rand has asked for them and, if copies can be found in London, I should be grateful if they may be sent to me.

7. On Friday evening I had a long talk with Musa Alami who, together with Cecil Haurani, has been staying at the Hôtel Victoria for the last fortnight or so. They were concerned over the delays in the printing by a Geneva firm of the memorandum which they wish to make available to the Committee. During the first week the printing went at great speed but in the last ten days it has slowed up unaccountably and they suspect that Jewish money may be the cause. They do not wish to break the boycott of the Palestinian Arabs by presenting the memorandum formally to the Committee. The memorandum, which has a number of bulky appendices, will be an Arab Office ~~MEMO~~ publication addressed to the world public and not to the Committee; but they wish the members of the Committee to read it before they reach their decisions on the main issues. Musa Alami had not finally decided how he will present his memorandum but thought that he would either send it to the Committee under a compliments slip or get Camille Chamoun to hand it over in his capacity as Liaison Officer. He seemed to be under the impression that the Committee had made the definite request in Beirut for the ~~appointment of a liaison officer by the Arab States~~ and said that, in response to this request, Camille Chamoun had been appointed and was arriving in Geneva in a day or two. So far as I am aware no formal decision has yet been taken by the Committee in the matter of an Arab States' liaison officer. Musa Alami said that Camille Chamoun would go on from Geneva direct to New York where he would lead the Lebanese Delegation at the General Assembly.

I asked Musa Alami if he contemplated himself meeting the Chairman or other members of the Committee informally. (Sandstrom had told me that he would welcome an opportunity to meet Musa Alami and asked me whether this could be arranged). Musa Alami replied that this was a matter which he had been considering; he was in a difficult position; there had already been two reports in the Palestine Arabic press, one that the British Government had persuaded him to give evidence before the Committee and the other that a secret meeting had been arranged between UNSCOP and Nuri Pasha, Weizmann and himself in an attempt to reconcile the Arab and Jewish points of view; he had been obliged to issue a public denial of the second report since it had linked his name with that of Weizmann. He was not prepared, he said, to come out into open opposition to the Mufti at this stage; if the British Government produced a solution which could be accepted by the Arab States and by a majority of the Arabs in Palestine then that would be the time to break with the Mufti, who was of course determined to resist any solution which did not give him sovereign authority in all or at least a part of Palestine; but until that time came, if it ever did come, the Arabs must show a united front. If, however, he thought that he could influence the findings of the Committee by a private talk with Sandstrom then he was prepared to have such a talk and take the risk that the fact of this direct contact would become known. But he was not yet satisfied that the results of such a meeting would have such favourable results as would warrant the risk. I did not attempt to press him to meet Sandstrom but merely said that I felt sure that Sandstrom for /

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Musa Alami spoke also of the Mufti's plans for rebellion. He said that it was, of course, common knowledge that the Arabs of Palestine were being rapidly armed by the Mufti and that other preparations were being made for rebellion this autumn. The only thing that could possibly cause the Mufti to delay putting his plan into operation would, he said, be a recommendation of a form of partition under which the Mufti himself might hope for absolute authority over the Arab half; the Mufti would accept partition if his position as head of the Arab State was to be recognised. He went on to say that he thought the "Mufti's rebellion" would be premature and would not receive material support either from the Arab States or from the bulk of the Arabs in Palestine. The principal objective would be the elimination of the Mufti's Arab political opponents, although of course, ~~xxx~~ ostensibly, it would be an attack on the Zionists and their supporters; a number of Jews and British police would be killed in order to keep up the pretence. The "Mufti's rebellion" would, he thought, be suppressed in a few months, but, unless Great Britain and the United Nations were prepared meantime to dissociate the problem of the displaced Jews of Europe with the problem of Palestine and to negotiate a settlement of the Palestine problem on the basis of populations as they now stand, then the "Mufti's rebellion" would be followed by violence in the Arab world far more serious and effective than anything the Mufti could engineer. There was a good deal in this vein; it is no doubt all very important, but I will not repeat it.

(a) Press release No. 268 of 1st August.

(b) Record of the Chairman's press conference on 2nd August.

P.S. I met Cecil Haurani this morning in the passages of the Palais. He said that Musa Alami was upset by the violent campaign being carried on against him in el Wahda during the last few days, accusing him of being a traitor to the Arab cause. He is preparing a counter-attack.

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EUROPEAN OFFICE OF THE UNITED NATIONS
Information Centre
Geneva.

Press Release No.268
1 August 1947.

UNITED NATIONS SPECIAL COMMITTEE ON PALESTINE

SUB-COMMITTEE III
(Visit to Displaced Persons Camps)

Itinerary

Meeting this morning in private, Sub-Committee III
(Visit to Displaced Persons Camps) agreed on the following
itinerary: Munich, Vienna, Berlin, British Zone - Belsen.

Terms of Reference

Subject to approval by the full Committee, the Sub-
Committee decided to visit selected representative Assembly
Centres for Jewish displaced persons in Germany and Austria
with a view to ascertaining and reporting on the attitude of the inmates of the Assembly Centres, regard-
ing re-settlement, repatriation or immigration into Palestine.

COMMISSION SPECIALE DES NATIONS UNIES POUR LA PALESTINE

SOUS-COMITE III
(Visite aux Camps de Personnes Déplacées)

Itinéraire

Réuni ce matin en séance privée, le Sous-Comité III (Visi-
te aux Camps de Personnes Déplacées) adopta l'itinéraire sui-
vant: Munich, Vienne, Berlin, Zone britannique-Belsen.

Mandat

Le Sous-Comité a décidé de visiter un nombre choisi et re-
présentatif de Centres d'Assemblement de personnes juives dépla-
cées, en Allemagne et en Autriche, dans le but de constater l'at-
titude de la population de ces Centres d'Assemblement, concernant
leur ré-établissement, leur rapatriement ou leur immigration en
Palestine, et d'en faire rapport au Comité. Cette décision est
sujette à l'approbation du Comité.

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EUROPEAN OFFICE OF THE UNITED NATIONS
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237.
Press Release No.270
2 August 1947.

P R E S S C O N F E R E N C E

given by

Mr. Sandström

President of the United Nations
Special Committee on Palestine,
on Thursday, 31 July 1947.

MR. SANDSTRÖM: I greet you all. It gives me very great pleasure to see you. Even if it is hot here, I remember with pleasure the cool breezes of the Negev, which I suppose some of the correspondents also remember.

Well, nothing much has happened since we left Beirut and I suppose what we did in Beirut is more or less known. Since our arrival here we have been occupied in settling some minor matters to begin with. First, this visit to the Camps in Germany - I suppose some details have already been given to the Press about the visits which are going to be paid to the Displaced Persons camps there. Then we have occupied ourselves with a more important matter, that is a working programme for our work on our Report. In that respect I can tell you that we have now worked out such a programme as it foresees, as is natural, that we first should discuss the historical and factual background of the Palestinian question and, after having gone through that, we come to the core of the question which will involve also an analysis of the several possible solutions.

Having made that choice we will naturally have to discuss

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Press Release No. 270
page 2

some necessary provisions to implement such a solution.

We have not begun the discussions yet. So far we have been waiting for our papers which have lagged behind and which have just arrived to-day.

When we get a little further in the matter we shall, of course, begin to draft the Report. For that purpose we are probably going to set up a Drafting Committee.

That is about what I have to state to-day, but I leave it to the correspondents if they want to ask some questions.

Q. With respect to the three chief points you made concerning the working programme, will you have Sub-Committees working simultaneously, on all three, or will they be taken up by the whole Committee one after the other?

A. They will be taken up by the whole Committee one after the other. It might later on be found suitable to set up Sub-Committees, but for the moment we have not done so.

Q. Is your deadline of September 1st regarded as absolutely binding?

A. We shall take that date into consideration but if it is necessary we shall transgress it. So far we still maintain the hope that we shall be ready by the 1st September.

Q. In the next few weeks I think we all know that the situation in Palestine could get much worse than we have seen it this summer. Have you got any special machinery or arrangement for the Committee to keep in very close touch with what goes on while you are in Geneva?

A. We will have, I suppose, the Palestinian newspapers sent

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Q. In addition to the section of your Report dealing with the facts, will you also have definite sections dealing with the conclusions and recommendations of the Committee?

Q. Could you say for the benefit of correspondents who did not accompany your Commission whether your investigation on the spot in Palestine has impressed upon the Commission the urgency of this problem and the need for a very speedy solution? Also, has the investigation on the spot added to the knowledge and added new facts which might be helpful in seeing the problem and finding a solution?

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Press Release No. 270
page 4

Q. Do you feel that you would have a better picture of the situation in Palestine than you have now if the Arab Committee had not boycotted your meetings?

A. It would of course have been interesting to hear the Arab views expressed by the Arab High Committee. That the Arab High Committee has not appeared before us does not mean, however, that we have not heard the Arab views expressed to us in Palestine. Besides, we have had the Arab case stated on many previous occasions, so we are not deprived of any knowledge of the Arab views. But it would as I say certainly have been very interesting to hear them expressed before us.

I want to add that in Beirut and also in Amman we heard the views of the Arab High Committee and that is also to a certain extent a substitute for the pleading of the Arab High Committee for us.

Q. Will there be representatives of Arab States here as liaison officers? You mentioned that there would be these liaison officers of the Jewish Agency and the British Government. Will there be any of the Arab States?

A. I can answer that so far the Commission has not invited the Arab States to send a liaison officer here but I think the Arab States might do that on their own initiative.

Q. Is it right, what some Arab papers wrote, that not all the members of the Committee were satisfied with the methods used by the Committee to study the matter in Palestine?

A. I cannot answer the question because no complaints have been made to me.

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Q. I mean what the newspapers wrote. Some newspapers wrote that.

A. Which newspapers?

Q. Arabic newspapers wrote that not all the members of the Committee were satisfied with the methods used by the Committee to study the matter in Palestine.

A. The only answer I can give you is that no complaints have been made to me from members of the Committee.

Q. Were the personalities to whom you spoke in Beirut members of the Arabic Committee or not?

A. No, we have not spoken to any members of the Arab High Committee.

Q. I mean in Beirut.

A. In Beirut, no. I suppose you know that we met representatives of the Arab State in Beirut.

Q. Yes, but none of them are members of the Arab Committee?

A. Not as far as I know. I can add that I cannot of course say that the representatives of the Arab States were not in contact with the members of the Arab High Committee or that what was said to us by the Arab States was not forthcoming from the Arab High Committee.

Q. A member or members of the Arab Office of Washington are now in Geneva. Have they made any request to see you or are you going to see them?

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A. I have had no request and I did not know that there were any officials of the Arab Office present here.

Q. Would you consider it within the competence of the Committee to take any interim step should the situation in Palestine become even more critical before your Report is complete?

A. I do not think I can possibly answer that question. It depends upon what happens.

Q. Regarding the visit to Germany, do you have any details yet as to when the Sub-Committee will leave, how long it will be gone, and which places it will visit?

A. No, we are just preparing the itinerary; we do not know how long it will take before the formalities are completed.

Q. Must they be arranged with the Authorities?

A. Yes.

Q. With the Military Authorities?

A. I suppose so.

Q. May we take it that your Report will be a definitive one in the sense that whatever solution you suggest will be described in detail? If, for instance, there will be a unified State, you will set forth in detail the kind of State you want. If there is to be partition, the boundary will definitely be drawn up. If it is to be a federal State, you will explain in detail; so that a second Commission will not be necessary to fix up the details.

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A. A certain definiteness is I suppose quite essential for the recommendations we shall make. How far the recommendations we make will have to be implemented after we have made them is, of course, very difficult to say. Anyhow I should not think that we would give a Report which would need, from our point of view of course, another Commission.

Q. There was a report some time ago that it was quite possible that the Report of the Commission would be presented to the Security Council for "its opinion". I am told it is legally not possible but some members of the Committee are reported to have said so at a Press Conference.

A. I suppose we are going to give our Report to the Assembly.

Q. That is routine. There is no chance of its being turned over to the Security Council?

A. What will happen when we have handed in our Report we, as a Committee, do not know, of course.

Q. Will the Committee in any way make any sort of statement in this Report to attempt to forestall the possibility that what happened to the Anglo-American Committee's Report will not happen to this? I do not know if it is in the province of the Committee or the Committee members themselves to make the Report stick, as it were. I wonder if something could be done, because a precedent is being established here since this is the first International Committee.

A. Except for the recommendation that decisions should be taken urgently, I do not think we shall be able to prevent a similar fate for our Report to that which happened to the

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Anglo-American Committee's Report.

Q. Is it possible for you to say that your report will contain not only recommendations for the solution of the problem before you, but also proposals for the implementation of your recommendations?

A. I do not know exactly what you are aiming at. Will you expand your question a little?

Q. If you propose any solution, say, partition, would you at the same time propose means and ways by which such solution is to be imposed and carried out?

A. To a certain extent that might be, but it is very difficult to answer such a general question. We shall, of course, have to draw up general lines for the solution. If I take, for instance, the case of partition, I think, the Government that will take over would have to be formed within a certain time, and there would have to be a certain transitional period during which the Mandatory Power would have to carry out the mandate. You could not leave matters to develop freely; there would have to be a certain order of procedure. There, however, you touch upon matters which we have not yet discussed and on which it is very difficult to foresee our recommendations.

Q. (Interpretation). The terms of reference of your Commission are very wide. According to them the Commission is empowered to establish, in connection with the Palestinian problem, any investigations and enquiries which it deems necessary in Palestine or elsewhere. In view of these terms of reference, do you think that they cover the case of the "Exodus 1947?" Do

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you consider that this specific case comes within the terms of reference of your Commission and, if so, does the Commission have the necessary powers to undertake steps to bring this "Exodus 1947" into relation with the whole problem?

A. Certainly our powers are very wide, and it is therefore necessary that we should exercise some judgment on what we take up. I do not think we can be supposed to deal with special cases which might arise. The main case with which we have to deal is the future disposition of Palestine.

I can add this. In the light of what I have said you can understand our decision - which I suppose was released yesterday - not to see the refugee boats in France. I mean, the refugees who came from the "Exodus".

Q. Where will your report be published?

A. At Lake Success.

Q. Definitely not here?

A. No.

Q. With respect to the question asked concerning the implementation of your recommendations, I read from my notes (I hope they are correct) of your opening remarks on your working programme. You divided your working programme into three sections: (1) Historical and Factual, (2) Analysis of Possible Solutions, and (3) Implementation of the Solution.

The question was asked of you to what extent you meant to implement, or try to implement, your suggested recommendations. In that case, what does the third point mean exactly?

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Registry

No.

E7172/951/31

Top Secret.

Secret.

Confidential.

Restricted.

Open.

H.B.

Draft.

letter

From: Mr. H.
Beeley
Eastern D.

To: Mr. Trafford
Smith,
Colonial Off.

the publication
of a report to
the Assembly
before the
member States
have received
it.

Unit Nations
11/18/8

H.B. 9/8

11 August, 1947.

My dear Trafford,

You will remember that you gave me a copy
of MacGillivray's letter to you of the 4th
August, with a request for our views on its
first paragraph.

We do not like MacGillivray's
suggestion that advance copies of the
Committee's report, or part of it, should be
made available to the press before it reaches
the Secretary-General. There are obvious
constitutional objections to ~~this procedure~~,
and ~~this procedure~~ should not be suggested to the
Committee from our side. We recognise that
the substance of the report will almost
certainly leak into the press, possibly in a
garbled form, but we think it is possible to
exaggerate the risk of trouble in Palestine
which might result from this. It must be
pretty generally understood in Palestine by
now that the report of ^a the Committee is not
necessarily ~~acted upon~~.

We cannot see any objection to the
communication of the advance report, in
confidence, to the Liaison Officer of the
Jewish Agency, and to Camille Bey Chamoun, if
he is, in fact, recognised as an Arab Liaison
Officer (or to the Arab States as directly
interested members of the United Nations).
It does not appear from MacGillivray's letter,
however, that the Chairman of the Committee
confirmed Hoo's opinion that it would be
necessary to do this if an advance copy were
/given

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given to MacGillivray. There is, therefore,
no need for MacGillivray to mention this point
in renewing his request for an advance copy,
though ^{we think} he should at once agree to equal
treatment for the Jews and Arabs, if that
condition is put to him again.

Yours ^{ever} ~~sincerely~~,

WMM f s/s

(Sqd.) H. Beeley

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OUT FILE

FOREIGN OFFICE, S.W.1.

11th August, 1947.

(E 7172/951/31)

My dear Trafford,

You will remember that you gave me a copy of MacGillivray's letter to you of the 4th August, with a request for our views on its first paragraph.

We do not like MacGillivray's suggestion that advance copies of the Committee's report, or part of it, should be made available to the press before it reaches the Secretary-General. There are obvious constitutional objections to the publication of a report to the Assembly before the member States have received it, and this procedure should not be suggested to the Committee from our side. We recognise that the substance of the report will almost certainly find its way into the press, possibly in a garbled form, but we think it is possible to exaggerate the risk of trouble in Palestine which might result from this. It must be pretty generally understood in Palestine by now that the report of a Committee is not necessarily acted upon.

We cannot see any objection to the communication of the advance report in confidence to the Liaison Officer of the Jewish Agency, and to Camille Bey Chamoun if he is in fact recognised as an Arab Liaison Officer (or to the Arab States as directly interested members of the United Nations). It does not appear from MacGillivray's letter, however, that the Chairman of the Committee confirmed Hoo's opinion that it would be necessary to do this if an advance copy were given to MacGillivray. There is therefore no need for MacGillivray to/

Trafford Smith, Esq.,
Colonial Office.

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to mention this point in renewing his request
for an advance copy, though we think he should
at once agree to equal treatment for the Jews
and Arabs if that condition is put to him again.

Yours ever,

(Sgd.) (H. Beeley)

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FOREIGN OFFICE,
S.W.1.

6th August, 1947.

8 AUG 1947

I understand that you have received an application from Skyways for permits to enable the crew of a York aircraft to enter the British Zones of Germany and Austria.

This aircraft has been chartered by the United Nations Special Committee on Palestine, who are now in Geneva and who are sending a party of approximately 25 people to visit displaced persons centres in Germany and Austria. Subject to any alteration which they may have made in their plans since yesterday, they intend to leave Geneva tomorrow (Thursday) morning for Munich, Vienna, Berlin and the nearest airport to Bergen and Belsen, thence returning to Geneva. The whole trip should last for about a week.

His Majesty's Government have undertaken to grant all necessary facilities to this party. I am now placing on record that you therefore kindly agreed, over the telephone to-day, to expedite the issue of these permits without waiting for the above information in writing.

(signed H.B. Bailey)

Military Permit Officer,
20, Princes' Gardens,
London, S.W.7.

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1947

PALESTINE

AUG 1947

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Dated

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in Registry

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References.

(Print.)

(How disposed of.)

(Action
completed.)

(Index.)

Next Paper.

E 7242

Visit of U.N. SCOP. to Germany and Austria.
 Refers New York Ltr 2063 (E 7005/977/31)
 States that B. & C. would welcome visit, and will
 give all facilities required in British zone
 of Austria.

(Minutes.)

German Refugee Regd.
 25.11.47

HB. 878

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E 7215

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E. END

Cypher/OTP

AUG 1947 DEPARTMENTAL NO. 2.

FROM VIENNA TO FOREIGN OFFICE

(From British Diplomatic Representative in Austria)

Sir H. Mack
No. 711

D. 6.30 p.m. 6th August 1947
R. 9.30 p.m. 6th August 1947

6th August 1947

Repeated to Berlin

New York
Washington
Jerusalem

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New York telegram No. 2063 to you.

The Commander-in-Chief would welcome visit of members of United Nations Special Committee on Palestine and will give them all the facilities they require in British Zone of Austria.

Foreign Office please pass to Berlin, New York and
Washington and to Jerusalem.

[Repeated to Berlin, New York and Washington and
copies sent to Colonial Office for repetition to Jerusalem]

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